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THE

POLITICAL & SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF BIHAR

(185 B. C. to 319 A. D.)

BY

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FOREWORD

Bihar has played a key role in the history of ancient India. The Haryaṅkas, the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas, the Guptas and the Pālas filled adequately the political and cultural canvas of the country with Bihar as the focal point History of these glorious imperial epochs has been written and rewritten by many competent scholars But this is neither the entire story of ancient India nor of Bihar. The history of the country had its ups and downs, and for a proper evaluation of the past played by Bihar in history, it was a great dessiderratum that the history of such non-imperial and non-glorious periods be also studied both in depth and detail. Dr H. K. Prasad has chosen one such period—the period between the end of the Maurya-Śunga imperial rule and the rise of the glorious Gupta imperial dynasty. It is very satisfying to find that our young scholar has shifted and weighed properly a lot of varied and vast material scattered in different types of sources, and he has, fairly successfully—at many places, thrown fresh light on many knotty problems, like the career of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the authorship of Mitra coins, the theory of Śaka rule in Magadha. His attempt to delineate the socio-religious life in Bihar during the period deserves appreciation, particularly in view of lack of any previous coherent account for a model. I need not anticipate the reaction of the readers but I am sure they will find the work both useful and scholarly. The author deserves all encouragement. It is hoped that the performance will be repeated many more times and before long Dr. Prasad will be a worthy member of the ever expanding world of Indologists.

Patna University. **B. P. Sinha**
16-7-70

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INTRODUCTION

This work is an attempt to reconstruct the 'Political and Socio-Religious History of Bihar during the period from 185 B. C. to 319 A. D.'

This period constitutes the interval between the fall of the Mauryan Empire and the rise of the Imperial Guptas. That our knowledge of the history of this period is of a very limited character is well-known. The period has generally been regarded as the 'Dark-Age' of Indian History. Moreover, while the general Text Books of Ancient Indian History naturally throw some light on the Political and Socio-Religious conditions of Bihar during this period, a detailed and comprehensive history of Bihar for the period under review does not exist And that is my justification for this study.

I must, however, make it clear that this study cannot be regarded as an ideally complete and comprehensive history of Bihar during this period In the first place we do not have sufficient original material for such a study. Secondly, history embraces the whole complex life of a civilized people. In a thesis like this the whole of it cannot be covered. A survey of the economic condition of the people during the period has not, therefore, formed part of this study.

The student of the history of Bihar during this period is at once confronted with a serious obstacle; the paucity of source-materials stares him in the face. The Archaeological data for the period are meagre, and literary sources are few and of an unsatisfactory character. And even the scanty literary source-material includes works of later times whose usefulness is, therefore, limited. And he has no Megasthenes or Fa-hien to describe to him the prevailing conditions of the time. The paucity of source-materials is necessarily reflected in the account that I have presented. Nevertheless, it has been found possible to outline the political history of the period, to describe the religious beliefs, practices and institutions of the people and to present an account of the social divisions

and the social life of the people inhabiting the territories comprised within the modern State of Bihar.

The career and character of Pushyamitra Śuṅga have been described in some detail, new reasons have been advanced in support of his belonging to the Śuṅga dynasty; the generally accepted view that he was a persecutor of Buddhists has been criticised and the identification of certain coins with the Śuṅga rulers has been shown to be wrong. The view of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal that the political power over the territories had passed into the hands of the Lichchhavis after the fall of the Kaṇva rulers has been shown to be unconvincing and fresh reasons have been advanced in support of the theory that the political vacuum created by the fall of the Kanva Empire was filled in by the local Mitra rulers who were later on supplanted by the Kushāṇa invaders. It is hoped that the reader will find that there is a freshness in approach as far as the career of Pushyamitra is concerned and that some of the conclusions are new and worth considering.

As regards the Religious History of the period, the resurgence of the Brāhmanical Religion which is the principal feature of the time has naturally claimed attention, but care has also been taken to outline the Buddhist and Jaina Religion and Culture which continued to exist during this period also, although its votaries were outnumbered by the followers of the Brāhmanical religion. Further, it has been stressed that the revived Brāhmanical religion, though clearly rooted in the old Vedic religion, was, however, not wholly the same. Transformation had accompanied its revival. It has been noted that the old Vedic gods receded into the background and that most of them as had retained their primacy did so under new names and with new characteristics. Thus Rudra was transformed into Śiva, and Vishnu into Vāsudeva (or Krishna). The construction of Temples as places of worship which is a striking feature of the present religious epoch, had now started, and it has further been pointed out that while worship of Natural objects and Forces of Nature continued, the growing tendency was to conceive Gods as anthropomorphic in aspect. The growth of priesthood and the power of the priests has also received conside-

ration in this work. The division of the followers of the Brāhmanical religion into various sects has also been described.

On the Social side it has been pointed out that while the old divisions of society into four Varṇas continued, considerable intermixture of castes had taken place. The slight improvement in the status of the Śūdras has also been dealt with. Moreover, the Āśrama of Brahmacharya and of the Gṛihastha, Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa have also been dealt with. An attempt has also been made to describe the every day life of of the people, their food and drinks, their dress and ornaments, pastimes and recreations.

I have already referred at the very beginning to the paucity of sources throwing light on the conditions of the period under review. I shall now indicate the main sources which I have utilised in the preparation of this work.

The sources may be divided under two main heads, namely (1) Archaeological and (2) Literary. The Archaeological sources may be further sub-divided into four categories;, viz. :— (a) Inscriptions (b) Art objects (c) Coins (d) Monuments.

The Literary sources may also be sub-divided into two main categories, viz.—(a) Contemporary works and (b) works belonging to the later periods.

Coming to the Archaeological sources first, the important inscriptions which have thrown some light on the period are (a) Ayodhyā inscription (b) Hāthigumphā inscription (c) Inscriptions occurring on the stone railings at Bodh-Gayā (d) Inscriptsons occuring on the Bhārhut rail pillars and coping stones (e) Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus. All these inscriptions have been taken to belong to the period under review. The Hāthigumphā inscription on palaeographical ground has been generally assigned to the last quarter of the 1st Century B. C. The authenticity of the information furnished by these inscriptions is not open to serious question but unfortunately the information furnished is very little. As regards the objects of Art very few can with any degree of certitude be ascribed to Bihar and to the period under review. A few Terracottas and stone sculptures were dis-

covered in the excavations conducted at Kumhrār during the years 1951–1954 under the supervision of late Dr. A. S. Altekar and are preserved in the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar, Patna. Some terracotta figures and stone sculptures discovered as a result of the earlier excavations at Bulandibāgh and Kumhrār and Patna proper (now exhibited in the Patna Museum) may also be ascribed to this period. The sculptures as represented on the stone Railings at Bodh-Gayā can also be placed in our period. These sculptures and figurines throw light on the dress and ornaments of the people and also depict the gods which they worshipped.

Among the Monuments which may be ascribed to our period, mention, however, be made of the (a) Maniyār Maṭha at Rājgir, (b) the remains of Lauriyā-Nandangarh in the district of Champaran and (c) the remains of the Buddhists cells and Vihāras unearthed at Kumhrār excavations during the years 1951–54. These monuments testify to the existence of Architecture during the period and throw some light on the Religious beliefs and practices of the people.

The Numismatic data are equally limited. Only a few hoards of Kushāṇa coins and a few coins of the Mitra rulers and some cast coins have been discovered in the excavations. The date of the cast coins, however, is by no means definite and determined. As I have shown in the body of the thesis, the coins said to have been struck by the Śuṅga rulers cannot safely be ascribed to them. Such of the coins as we have got throw some light upon the rulers of these territories, and the Nandi figure on the Kushāṇa coins reflect wide prevalence of Śaivism in the territories and the adherence of the Kushāṇa rulers to the same.

Faced by this paucity of Archaeological material, I had necessarily to fall back upon the literary sources. The contemporary works are the following (a) *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (b) *Manusmṛti* (c) *Milindapañho*, while the later works utilised are (1) *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa (2) *Harṣacharita* of Bāṇa (3) *Divyāvadāna* (4) *Mañju-śrī-mūlakalpa* (5) *Purāṇas* (6) *Mahāvaṁśa*.

Let us now discuss the Literary works one by one.

1. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.

The *Mahābhāṣya* is a commentary on Pāṇini's grammar but a careful examination of the illustrations given by him while explaining the Sūtras of Pāṇini throws light on the history of Bihar. As a matter of fact the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali forms an important source of information for the period. The information gleaned from this work may be regarded as authentic for Patañjali flourised within this period and was quite familiar with Magadha. I may briefly explain my reasons for saying so.

Firstly, there seems to be considerable justification for regarding Patañjali as a contemporary of Pushyamitra. His statement in the *Mahābhāṣya* "इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः" [1] can reasonably be interpreted to mean that Patañjali officiated as a priest at some sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra. And if that interpretation is correct it is conclusive proof of his being a contemporary of Pushyamitra. And Pushyamitra, as I have shown in the body of the thesis, flourised during the period 187 B. C. to 151 B. C. Secondly, the *Mahābhāṣya* contains a reference to the Yavana invasion "अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्, अरुणद्यवनः माध्यमिकाम्" [2] which is ascribed to the second half of the second century B. C. That also suggests that Patañjali flourished during this period. Dr. D. C. Sirkar while not denying the fact of Patañjali being a contemporary of Pushyamtra is inclined to the view that the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali must have undergone revision and enlargement at the hands of his later followers but even then he agrees that the work cannot be assigned to a period later than that of the Kushāṇas, [3] who fall well within the period under review and, therefore, that does not impair its utility to us.

2. *Manusmṛiti*

Manusmṛiti also has supplied us a lot of information

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini III. 2. 123.
2. Patañjali on Pāṇini III. 2. 111.
3. *I. H. Q.*, XV, 1939, pp. 633 & 636.

regarding the social and religious history of Bihar during this period. This work is generally ascribed to the period 200 B. C. —A. D. 200.[1] Manu looks upon Brahmāvarta, the country between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī[2] and Brahmarṣideśa (the plains of the Kurus, the Matsyas, the Pāñchālas and the Surasenas) as sacred[3] On this basis it has been suggested that the law book arose and was first considered authoritative, within this comparatively narrow province.[4] Such a view may be tenable but it is by no means the only possible view. As a matter of fact the influence of the Code of Manu may have extended over a much wider area, in which the territories comprised in the modern state of Bihar might also be included. Hence this work has been utilised as a source of information regarding the Socio-Religious conditions of Bihar during the period.

3. *Milindapañho*

According to the recent Researches, the date of Menander has been taken as 155 B. C.[5] Therefore, *Milindapañho* which is named after Menānder should be roughly ascribed to this date. Although this work was not compiled in the region covered by modern Bihar, its references to social and Religious conditions may be regarded as valuable supplementary evidence for the study of our subject, since taking Northern India as a whole there was not much difference between one part of the country and the other in regard to Socio-Religious conditions.

4. *Mahāvaṁśa*

Although the *Mahāvaṁśa* was compiled in Ceylon in 5th Century A. D it gives us the Political history of Magadha

1. Buhler, *S. B E.*, XXV, introduction, pp. CXIV–CXVIII; Cf. Jayaswal, *Manu & Yajñavalka*, pp. 25–32; Ketkar's argument that the work belongs to A D. 227–320 (*History of Caste*, p. 66) is not convincing.
2. *Manu*, II. 17.
3. *Ibid.*, II. 19.
4. Johantgen quoted in Hopkins, *Relations of Four Castes in Manu*, pp. 4–5.
5. A. K. Narain, *The Indo Greeks*, p. 77.

(in particular) from the time of the Buddha onwards from the Buddhistic point of view. The work, therefore, can be used to check up, correct and supplement the information that we get about the post Mauryan dynasties of Bihar supplied by the *Purāṇas* and other sources.

5 . *Purāṇas*

The present style of the *Purāṇas* shows that they were compiled in the Gupta times when Smṛti sections were incorporated into them. But there is no doubt that the genealogies and events of political history recorded in the *Purāṇas* cover the period right from the later Vedic times to the Gupta times The traditional account contained in the *Purānas* give us the reignal periods of the Śuṅga, Kaṇva, Āndhra rulers which can be checked up and corrected in the help of Epigraphic, Numismatic data and occasional references in later Literary Texts such as the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* of Kālidāsa and *Harṣacharita* of Bāna.

6 *Divyāvadāna* (i.e. The Heavenly Avadānas).

It is a later work belonging roughly to the Gupta period. "The composition of the work is, in fact, very confused and disconnected. There is no sign of any principle of arrangement. The language and style, too, are by no means unified. Most of the legends are written in good, simple Sanskrit prose, only interrupted here and there by Gāthās. In a few of the pieces, however, we also find the metres of ornate poetry and the genuine Kāvya style with its long compound words. The compiler thus seems to have simply taken over the passages literally out of other Texts. As a matter of fact, almost all the stories, in the *Divyāvadāna* have been traced to other works. In addition to the *Mūla-Sarvastivāda-Vinaya,* the compiler of the *Divyāvadāna* also made use of a "Book of King Aśoka," of the Samyuktāgama (which is known by the Chinese translation Tsa A-han King), and of Kumāralata's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā. It stands to reason that, when the *Divyāvadāna* was compiled in this fashion, the various parts of the work belong to different periods. There are some passages which must certainly have been written prior to the 3rd Century

A. D. However, the collection as a whole, could not have been in existence earlier than the 4th Century A. D."[1] Since in this work, there is a reference to one Pushyamitra who is generally identified by scholars with Pushyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, the work has been utilised in this thesis to examine such a view.

7. *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa.

The work though belongs to the Gupta age refers casually to the events of political history of our period and that is why this has been utilised as a source of information for this study.

8. *Harṣacharita* of Bāṇa.

This work also though much later in date (7th Century A. D.) casually makes a reference to the events of political history of our period and has therefore been included in this study.

Now before concluding this introduction, it may be permissible to point out that due to the various difficulties, it has not been possible to supply the Photographs of some of the objects on which certain observations have been made in regard to the Social and Religious history of this period. However, their Register Numbers have been given and the objects may be examined at the Patna Museum, Patna and at the Archaeological Museum, Bodh-Gayā where they are exhibited at present.

Lastly, I must say that I am very much indebted to late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., L. L. B., D. Litt, the then Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University, under whose kind and efficient guidance I have been able to write out this thesis

My respectful indebtedness also goes to Dr. B. P. Sinha, M. A., Ph. D. (Lond)[2] for his kind help and valuable suggestions

1. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p 285.
2. At present he is the Head of the Deptt of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna and is also the Director of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar, Patna.

which he gave me from time to time in the preparation of this thesis and for writing out the Foreword.

I am also highly grateful to my cousins Shree Shiva Anugrah Narain and Shree Krishna Anugraha Narain for rendering me valuable suggestions and help in the completion and publication of my Thesis.

My deep sense of gratitude are also due to Pandit Baldeo Mishra, Jyotishāchārya, for having helped me in expounding Sanskrit passages.

I am also grateful to Prof. R. S. Sharma, M. A., Ph. D. (Lond), Head of the Deptt. of History, Patna College, Patna for having helped me with books and valuable suggestions from time to time in the preparation of my Thesis.

Lastly, I have to say that I have also consulted the Doctorate Thesis of Dr. Priyatosh Banerjee on "Some Aspects of the Religious History of Post-Mauryan India", but unfortunately in the Bibliography portion his above Thesis could not be included just by an overlook which is, therefore, being acknowledged here.

1970 **H. K. Prasad**

ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA*

Page 232 :—In place of Book I, read Book III of Vol. II in foot note 1 of page 232.

Page 235 :—In place of consulting the book "Gaya and Buddha Gaya" Vol. II by Dr. B. M. Barua in foot notes 1, 2 and 3 of page 235, consult the book "Age of the Nandas and Mauryas," pp 286 and 297-299 by K. A. Nilakaṇṭha Śāstrī.

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* Minor mistakes are rectified now which were overlooked earlier.

A POLITICAL CONDITION

CHAPTER I

(*1*) *The decline of the Mauryas and the Coming of the Śuṅgas.*

The vast and well administered Mauryan empire lost its unity just after the death of Aśoka, one of the great monarchs in the history of the world. The empire suffered a gradual decay during the rule of the later Mauryas who were quite weak to check foreign attacks that were taking place at that time and were incapable of maintaining the political integrity of their empire. The Greeks had begun their march into India.[1] Their frequent attacks had created a state of political disintegration. They had carved out some independent principalities of their own and had gradually become masters of the Punjāb. According to the *Yuga Purāṇa section af the Gārgī* Saṁhitā,[2] they appear to have exercised their influence over Sāketa, Pañchāla, Mathurā and right up to Pātaliputra. Patañjali, the great grammarian has also recorded the Yavana invasion. He says, अरुणद्यवन:

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1. Vide : *Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gārgī Saṁhitā*, by K. P. Jayaswal in *J. B. O*: *R. S.* Vol. XIV. Pt III, p. 402, lines 22-25 : also cf *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali, ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 119, Sūtra 2-2-111.

2. ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान्मथुरांस्तथा,
यवना दुष्टविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमाध्वजम्,
ततः पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कर्दमे प्रथिते हिते,
आकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः।

(Vide : *J. B. O. R. S.* XIV, Pt. III, p. 402).

साकेतं, अरुणद्यवनो माध्यमिकाम्[1] । H. C. Raychaudhuri has thus rightly observed, "It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the rois Faineants—who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pātaliputra proved unequal to the task of maintaining the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya."[2]

Thus, at such a critical hour, the dormant military ardour of the people required complete awakening to check the Indian territories from going into foreign hands and the empire being completely disintegrated. Pushyamitra, an ambitious leader of the Mauryan army rose equal to the situation and revived the military strength of the army by taking a very bold step. He killed his Mauryan Royal master king Brihadratha, the in-efficient ruler and declared himself as king of Magadha. And thus Magadha was brought once again under a strong and efficient administrator, pushyamitra, who established a new dynasty which is commonly known in history as the Śuṅga dynasty, and under the rule of this dynasty, Magadha thrived and prospered for more than 100 years.

(2) Pushyamitra—his dynastic appellation.

The political unity of the Magadhan empire which had been disturbed after the death of king Aśoka was later on revived by one Pushyamitra an ambitious military chief of the Royal Mauryan army. He had

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1. *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. II. p. 119. Sūtra 3.2.111.
2. *Political history of Ancient India*, 5th. Ed. p. 365. by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

ascended the throne of Magadha after killing the last Mauryan king Brihadratha. The tradition of his murder is well preserved in the *Purāṇas* and in the *Harṣacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. *Matsya Purāṇa* says—

"पुस्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धृत्य स बृहद्रथान् ।
कारयिष्यति वै राज्यं षट् त्रिंशतु समा नृपः ॥"[1]

i.e. pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief will uproot Brihadratha and will rule the kingdom as king for 36 years.[2]

And Bāṇa in his *Harṣacharita* says—

"प्रज्ञादुर्बलं च बलदर्शनव्यपदेश दर्शिता शेष सैन्यः,
सेनानीरनार्यो मौर्यं बृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्यमित्रः स्वामिनम् ।"[3]

i.e. Pushyamitra, the wicked general killed his foolish master Brihadratha Maurya at the time of reviewing the parade of the army.

The question then arises, who was this Pushyamitra who had the courage and intellect to kill the king and usurp the throne for himself? Most of the scholars, on the basis of the Paurāṇic evidences, regard him as the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty and naturally, therefore, he is known in history as Pushyamitra Śuṅga. But H. A. Shah[4] maintains that *Matsya Purāṇa* does not describe pushyamitra as Śuṅga and that nowhere in the Purāṇas,

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1. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapter 272. Verse 27.
2. *The Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age* by F. E. Pargiter, p. 70.
3. *Harsacharita* by Bāṇabhaṭṭa; Kane's edition Book VI, p. 50.
4. Vide : "*Proceedings and transactions of the third oriental conference*" 1924, p. 379.

Pushyamitra is called by the name 'Śuṅga'. Hence he is of opinion that there is no reason as to why we should hold that he belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty. On the other hand he has suggested that Agnimitra (the son and successor of Pushyamitra) seems to belong to the clan of Bimbis, in whose clan or family, perhaps king Bimbisāra (a contemporary of Buddha and Mahāvīra) best of the Bimbis flourished; and that Bimbisāra was a Kshatriya by birth and is not known as Śuṅga.[1]

Well true it is that *Matsya Purāṇa* or any other purāṇa does not call Pushyamitra by the term Śuṅga and that it mentions him only by the title 'सेनानी' or 'सेनापति' i.e. the commander-in-chief; but in this connection it must be kept in view that before stating the name and the activity of the first king of a certain dynasty, the Purāṇas speak out the name of that dynasty. Thus for example, the *Matsya Purāṇa* first states that after the Nanda kings have enjoyed the earth for full 100 years, it will go to the Mauryas,[2] and then in the succeeding verses it gives the names of the kings of that dynasty.[3] Similar is the case

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 379-80.
2. (a) उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्यः समैर्द्वादशभिः सुतान्
   भुक्त्वां महीं वर्षं शतं ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति ।
   (Vide : *Matsya Purāna* ch 271 verse 21. ed. by Jivananda Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭāchārya, Sarasvati Press, Calcutta 1876).
   (b) उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान्, कौटिल्यो वै द्विरष्टाभिः,
   भुक्त्वां महीं वर्षं शतं, ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति ।
   (Vide : *The Purāna texts of the dynasties of the Kali age by* Pargiter, p. 26).
3. चन्द्रगुप्तं नृपं राज्ये, कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति
   चतुर्विंशत समा राजा चन्द्रगुप्तो भविष्यति ।
   (*Ibid*, pp, 28-31).

with the Kaṇva kings. *Purāṇas* first say that after the 10 Śuṅgas (somewhere mentioned only nine) have enjoyed the earth for full 112 years, it will pass on to Kaṇvas,[1] and after that the Purāṇas give the names and the activities of the kings of that dynasty.[2] About the Āndhra dynasty also the Purāṇas speak in a similar way i.e. they first say that after the four Kaṇvas have ruled the earth for full 45 years, it will pass on to Āndhras[3] and then in the succeeding verses the Purāṇas narrate the names and the activities of the kings of that dynasty.[4] The same is the case with the Śuṅgas. Thus befoıe narrating that Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of the Royal army, having usurped the throne of Magadha by killing his Royal Mauryan master Brihadratha, ruled for 36 years,[5] the *Matsya Purāṇa* states—

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1 (a) दश एते शुङ्गा राजानो भोक्ष्यन्ति इमां वसुन्धराम् ।
शतं पूर्णं दश द्वे च ततः कण्वान् गमिष्यति ॥
(*Ibid*, p. 33).

(b) शुङ्गा दश एते भोक्ष्यन्ति भूमि वर्षंशताधिकम् ।
ततः कण्वान् इयं भूमिर्यास्यति अस्प गुणान् नृपाः ॥
(Vide : Bhāgavata Purāṇa)

(c) इति एते दश शुङ्गा द्वादशोत्तरम वर्षं शतं पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति,
ततः कण्वान् एषाभूर्यास्यति ।
(Vide : Vishnu Purāna)

2. Vide : *The Purāṇa Texts of the dynasties of the Kali age* by Pargiter, pp. 33–35).

3. चत्वारस्तु द्विजा हि एते कण्वा भोक्ष्यन्ति वै महीम् । चत्वारिंशत् पञ्च चैव भोक्ष्यन्तीमाम् वसुन्धराम्, एते प्रणत सामन्ता भविष्या धार्मिकाश्च ये येषां पर्याय काले तु भूमिरान्ध्रान् गमिष्यति······ ।
(Vide : *The Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age* by Pargiter p. 35).

4. *The Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age* by Pargiter, pp, 38–43.

5. पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धृत्य स बृहद्रथान्,
कारयिष्यति वै राज्यं षट् त्रिंशति समा नृपः ।
(Vide : *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chap. 271. Verse 26).

इत्येते दश मौर्यास्तु ये भोक्षयन्ति वसुन्धराम्,
सप्तत्रिंशच्छतं पूर्णं तेभ्यः शुङ्गान् गमिष्यति ।[1]

i.e. after the ten Mauryas had enjoyed the earth for full 137 years, it will pass on to the Śuṅgas. Thereafter it gives the names and the activities of the kings of that dynasty of which Pushyamitra is the first king.[2] So we can say that in all probability, Pushyamitra was the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty. The very assertion of the Purāṇas that,

दश एते शुङ्ग राजानो भोक्षयन्ति इमा वसुन्धराम,
शतं पूर्णं दश द्वे च ततः कण्वान् गमिष्यति ।[3]

proves that Pushyamitra must also belong to the Śuṅga dynasty. Therefore, we would be justified to say that H. A. Shah has wrongly held that *Matsya Purāṇa* does not count Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief as Śuṅga. Indirectly, the tradition as recorded in the *Harṣatharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa also refers to the same dynasty i.e. the Śuṅga dynasty although it does not represent Pushyamitra, the first king to be a Śuṅga but ascribes this appellation to Devabhūti who is admittedly the last ruler of that dynasty, founded by Pushyamitra.[4] *Harṣacharita* states as follows,

अतिस्त्रीसंगरतमनङ्गपरवशं शुङ्गममात्यो वसुदेवो,
देवभूति दासी दुहित्रा देवव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत् ।[5]

i.e. in a state of passion, Devabhūti, the Śuṅga king who was given to over indulgence with women,

1. *Matsya Purāṇa* Chapt. 271. Verse 25.
2. *The Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age* by Pargiter, p. 31.
3. *Ibid*, p. 33.
4. *The Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age*, by Pargiter, p. 32, also cf its foot note 45–the reading in *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is Devabhūti.
5. *Harṣacharita* book VI, p. 50 of Kaṇes 1st edition.

was killed by his slave woman's daughter-disguised as his queen at the instance of his minister Vasudeva.

Now, as against the view that Agnimitra, the son and successor of Pushyamitra, belonged to the family of Bimbisāra it may be pointed out that H. A. Shah has failed to advance any conclusive reason in support of his theory. There is really nothing to show that Pushyamitra was at all conne-cted with the family of Bimbisāra. Nowhere it is mentioned that the successors of Bimbisāra were ruling in a feudatory capacity in Magadha during the period between the Nanda and the Maurya rule. There is also no evidence to show that Pushya-mitra was a feudatory chieftain. He was merely a military officer in the Royal Mauryan army. Hence to hold that Pushyamitra or his son Agnimitra or his relatives belonged to the family of Bimbisāra is extremely doubtful.

H. C. Raychaudhuri,[1] on the other hand, holds that Pushyamitra and his successors belonged to the Baimbika family and not to Śuṅga, because Kālidāsa in his drama Mālavikāgnimitraṁ represents Agnimitra as Baimbikāñāṁ Kula,[2] and Baimbika denoting a family name is corroborated by the *Baudhā-yana-Śrauta-Sūtra*[3] in the section dealing with pravaras

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1. *Indian Culture* Vol III, 1936–37, p. 741 and Vol IV, p. 366.
2. दाक्षिण्यं नाम बिम्बोष्ठि बैम्बिकानां कुल व्रतं,
   तन्मे दीर्घाक्षि य प्रणास्ते त्वदाशानिबन्धनाः ।
   (Act IV, verse 14. ed. by M. R. Kāle 1918, p. 80).
3. कश्यपानामाख्यास्यामः । कश्यपच्छागारयो मठरा ऐतिशायना आभूत्या वैशिप्रा धूम्रा धूम्रायणा धौम्या वार्ष्याणा औठअजिराप्रायणा बैम्बकयः ।
   (Vol III, p. 449 ed. by W. Caland).

and Gotras where Baimbakayaḥ is distinctly used in the sense of a family. Raychaudhuri, thus equating बैम्बकयः of the *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* with the so called family designation 'वैम्बिक' of *Mālavikāgnimitram*, writes "Baimbika is apparently derived from Bimbikā which is the name of a fruit according to lexicographers (तुण्डिकेरी रक्तफला बिम्बिका पीलुपर्ण्यपि).[1] Baimbaka too from which Baimbakayaḥ may have been derived, has the same sense.[2]

As against the above view of Raychaudhuri it may be pointed out that he has without any sufficient ground set aside the Paurāṇic Śuṅga designation ascribed to the family of Pushyamitra. The two terms Baimbika and Baimbakayaḥ, do not appear to be identical. Raychaunhuri no doubt has rightly said that Baimbika is a deiivative of Bimbikā which is the name of a fruit according to lexicographers, but the latter term Baimbakayaḥ, however, is the plural of Baimbaki and not of Baimbaka and Baimbaki is a derivative of Bimba which appears to be the name of a person as suggested by the commentary of Patañjali on Pāṇini IV. I. 97.[3] A king named Bimbaki is really mentioned in the ocean of story (कथासरित्सागर[4] of Somadeva). King Bimbaki there is the father of a girl Mrigāṅkavatī who was in love with Śrīdatta, a prince. Thus with regard to the view of Raychaudhuri, that Baimbika and Baimbakayaḥ

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1. *Amarkoṣa* Vanaushadhı varga. V, 293.
2. *Indian Culture* Vol IV, p. 365
3. सुधातृव्यासयोरिति वक्तव्यम् । सौधतकिः । वैयासकिः शुकः । अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते । सुधातृव्यासवरुड निषाद चाण्डाल बिम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् । सौधातकिः । चाण्डालकिः । बैम्बकिः ।
4. 1. 112. 119.

(i. e. Baimbaki) have got the same sense, I may say that the meaning of Baimbaki to be a fruit is not well attested; where as its use in the sense of a person is based on Patañjali, IV. I. 97 and the Ocean of story (कथासरित्सागर of Somadeva). Hence we are not justified in equating the two terms Baimbaka and Baimbika.

Further, the reading "Baimbakayaḥ" itself is not authoritative. Raychaudhuri probably has not taken into account the explantaion given at the foot note (6) of the *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* (Vol III, p. 449, ed. by W. Caland). 'Baimbakayaḥ'[1] is a corrected reading according to Patañjali on Pāṇini IV. 1. 97. The other readings given in the manuscripts are, Vaivakayaḥ, Cavakayaḥ, Paimbakayaḥ, Vaimarukayaḥ, Paidhaka and Paidakayaḥ. All these readings give no meaning and hence W. Caland has corrected it according to Patañjali on Pāṇini IV. 1. 97.

The reading "बैम्बिक" (Baimbikānāṁ) also is not fully authoritative. It has got different readings in different manuscripts of *Mālavikāgnimitram*. In one of the editions of the *Mālavikāgnimitram*,[2] Baimbikānaṁ has been read as Nāyakānāṁ.[3] In the third act of this drama[4] Vidushaka reminds Agnimitra that he is a Dākshina-Nāyaka and hence he should treat equally all his queens. Thus we see that we can

1. J. C. Ghosh has also referred to this corrected readindg, namely 'Baimbakayaḥ' while giving its variant readings, vide *J. B O. R. S* Sep 1937, p 357.
2. Howrah edition, Śāstra Prakāśa Office, p. 114 foot note 2.
3. I am thankful to Mr. J. C. Ghosh for this information. Vide . *J. B. O. R. S.* XXIII, pt. III, p. 355.
4. pp. 51 & 84 of the same edition as of No. 2. above.

not be sure of its correct reading. Even if we take 'Baimbikānāṁ' to be a correct reading, we can not be quite sure of its meaning. V. S. Apte in his *Practical Sanskrit-English* dictionary, P. 704 explains the word as, 'a man who is assiduous in his attetion to ladies, a gallant lover.' In support of this interpretation he cites the first line, "दाक्षिण्यं नाम बिम्बोष्ठि बैम्बिकानां कुल व्रतं of *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*. So it appears in all probability that Agnimitra here is pointing out to Mālavikā the character of a lover and not to his dynasty. It is, therefore, extremely doubtful whether Kālidāsa at all refers to Baimbika in the sense of a dynasty. Further, no where Baimbika is used in the sense of a dynasty. But the Śuṅgas, on the other hand, were very well known among the ancient families. They have been mentioned by Pāṇini,[1] *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.*[2] *Lāṭyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra,*[3] *Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*[4], *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*[5] and lastly by *Vaṁśa Brāhamaṇa.*[6] So the Purāṇas here have referred to a very well known ancient family, namely, Śuṅga to which Pushyamitra belonged.

Further, on account of another serious objection

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1. विकर्णशुङ्गच्छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु (IV. 1. 117.)
2. Vol III, p. 429 ed. by W. Caland and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1913.
3. अग्निरिन्द्रायोपास्मै पवस्व वाच इति स्तोत्रीय शुङ्गा ।
   (Published from Vālmiki Press, Cal. Samvata 1928, p. 312).
4. भरद्वाजाः, शुङ्गाः कृता शैशिरयः (XII. 3. 15).
5. Here "शौङ्गी पुत्र"—(Śauṅgīputra) is referred to, which means the son of Śauṅgī i. e. of a female descendant of Śuṅga (VI. 4. 31)
6. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, p. 370 (reference to Śauṅgāyani i. e. descendant of Śauṅga).

also, we can not agree with Raychaudhuri in maintaining that Pushyamitra and his descendants were of Baimbika group and not of Śuṅga and that they were different from the Śuṇga dynasty ruling in Vidiśā shortly after the Mauryas[1]. We know that the suzerainty of Pushyamitra and his son Agnimitra extended up to Vidisā region as according to *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ,* the seat of viceroyalty of Agnimitra was at Vidiśā. Further, according to the Besnagar pillar inscription[2] of Heliodorus, the political power of king Bhāgavata[3] of the family of Pushyamitra, also extended up to that region. But according to the Bhārhut inscription[4], there was a dynasty of Śuṅga rulers (सुगनं रजे) ruling over that region in about 2nd-Ist Century B. C. Thus, if we would regard Pushyamitra and his family to be of Baimbika group quite different from the Śuṅgas of Bhārhut, then, it would be rather difficult to justify the existence of the two independent Royal dynasties, namely the Śuṅga and the Baimbika in the Bhārhut region at one particular time. So in the fitness of things, Pushyamitra should belong to the Śuṅga family instead of to Baimbika[5].

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1. *Indian Culture,* Vol. III, p. 740.
2. Text .—देवदेवस वसुदेवस गरुडध्वजे अयं कारिते इअं हेलियोदोरेण-भागवतेन दियसपुत्रेण तखसिलाकेन योन दूतेन आगतेन महारजस अतलिकितस उपता सिकास रजो कोसी पुरुष भागभद्रस त्रातरस वसेन चतुरसेन राजेन वधमानस ।
3. If King Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas and Bhāgabhadra of Besnagar pillar inscription are taken to be identical, and it is very likely that both the personages were one and the same king.
4. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. X, Appendix Luder's List of Brāhmi inscriptions No. 687 & 688.
5. Baimbika was probably not the name of any dynasty.

Divyāvadāna[1], a Buddhist book of very late period represents Pushyamitra as Maurya. With regard to this tradition, it may be said that Pushyamitra mentioned in the Purāṇas who put an end to the Mauryan rule by killing his Royal Mauryan master Brihadratha was altogether different from Pushyamitra of the *Divyāvadāna.* This has been made quite clear in the succeeding section 'Pushyamitra Śuṅga and the Buddhists'.

The upshot of the above discussion is that the dynasty which flourished after the Mauryas was the Śuṅga dynasty, whose first king was Pushyamitra, the Commander-in-chief.

(3) *The right name of the first Śuṅga King ?*

what was the correct name of the first Śuṅga king requires certain exmination. The first Śuṅga king is mentioned in literature either by the name of Pushyamitra or by puṣpamitra and we have to decide his right name in between these two. *Harṣacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa mentions him by the name Pushyamitra[2], whereas Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* calls him by the name Pushpamitra[3]. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali on the other hand refers to him as Pushyamitra.[4] Merutuṅga (a Jain writer of the book *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and *Vichāraśreṇi*) in his genealogical table of kings of

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1. Ed. by Cowel & Neil, pp. 430–34.
2. प्रज्ञादुर्बलं च बलदर्शनव्यपदेश दर्शिता शेष सैन्यः
   सेनानिरनार्यो मौर्यं बृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्यमित्रः स्वामिनम् ।
   (Ed. by P. V. Kane, p. 50).
3. Act V, p. 104 Ed. by M. R. Kale, 1st Edition.
4. इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः ।

Ujjain mentions him by the name Pushyamitra.[1] *Paṭṭāvali Samuchaya* also mentions him by the name Pushyamitra[2]. The *Matsya* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* generally mention him by the name Pushyamitra[3] but *Vishṇu Purāṇa* calls him by the name Pushpamitra.[4] Thus we now see that the name Pushyamitra occurs at six places whereas only at two places the first Śuṅga king is referred to as Pushpamitra. Therefore, it is very likely that the correct and at the same time the most popular name of the first Śuṅga king was probably Pushyamitra and not Pushpamitra, and it is just possible that Pushpamitra may be a mistake for Pushyamitra. We, however, can not quite definitely say as to which of the two names was a correct one as both of the names have got some meaning. If Pushyamitra means one who is a friend of Pushya Nakshatra (Asterism) then Pushpamitra means one who is a friend of flower i.e. to say one who is a lover of flower. Hence both the names connote some meaning. Hence we can not with any degree of certainty reject the one name in preference to the other. We can, however, only say that as the name Pushyamitra occours at several places, at least more than the other one, it is, therefore, very likely that Pushyamitra might be the correct name of the first Śuñga king. Over and

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1. *Indian Antiquary*, 1914, p 119.
2. Chapter "दुषमाकाल श्री श्रमणसंघस्तोत्रम्" by Śrī Dharmaghoṣa Sūri, also cf. *Paṭṭāvali Samuchaya* by Muni Dharshanvijaya, Sarasvati Printing Press, Agra ; In this edition vide chapter राजगृही पाटलिपुत्र राजवंशा, परिशिष्ट—३
3. Vide : '*The Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age*" by Pargiter, p. 31. foot note.
4. Infra. No. 6.

above Pushyamitra being the Nakshatra name seems to be more accurate reading as the नक्षत्र names were quite common at this time.

(4) Date of Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

It has already been seen that just after the end of the Mauryan dynasty, Pushyamitra Śuṅga became the master of Magadha. Now the question arises- what was the year of his accession ?

By a majority of scholars it has been held that Pushyamitra Śuṅga ascended the throne in about 187 B C, or 185 B. C.,[1] but they have not put forward the basis for arriving at such a date. The present author however, holding the former date i. e. 187 B.C as the year of Pushyamitra's accession to the throne, puts forward the following reasons in support of his view points. But at the outset before entering into any discussion, he would like to point out that the statement of the Purāṇas for the total period of duration of a Royal dynasty has been taken by him as correct but at the same time he does not take as quite correct the statement of the *Purāṇas* regarding the duration of the rule of an individual king.

According to the Cantonese tradition[2] of 489

1. *Political History of Ancient India,* 5th edition by H. C. Raychaudhuri, p. 378 also cf Early history of India by V. Smith, 4th edition.
2. A dotted record was in use in Canton up to the year 489 A. D. This dotted record was to mark passing number of years. From the time of the death of Buddha onwards each year began to be marked with a dot and in the year 489 A. D. the number of dots amounted to 975. Thus Buddha died in the year 486 B. C. (975–489 A. D. = 486 B. C.)

A. D. based on a dotted record brought to China by Saṅghabhadra, Lord Buddha died in 486 B C. which was the 8th year of Ajātaśatru's rule according to *Mahāvaṁśa*.[1] It thus means that Ajātaśatru came to the throne 8 years earlier to this date i.e in 494 (486 + 8) B C. Now according to Mahāvaṁśa, the authority of which is commonly accepted by most of the historians, Ajātaśatru ruled for 32 years, Udayabhadra for 16 years, Anurudha Muṇḍa for 8 years, Nāgadāsaka for 24 years, Śuśunāga for 18 years, Kālāśoka for 28 years, ten sons of Kālāśoka for 22 years, and nine Nandas for 22 years and after that comes the reign of the Mauryas who according to the Purāṇas ruled for 137 years. Thus the total number of years covered in this way just before the coming of the Śuṅgas amounts to 307 years. Thus from the year of accession of Ajātaśatru (i.e. from 494 B C) and before the coming of the Śuṇgas 307 years had elapsed. Therefore the Śuṅgas came to power in C 187 B. C. (494 B. C-307 years = 187 B. C.) and 187 B C. was, therefore, the year of accession of Pushyamitra, the first Śuṅga king.

The aforesaid date 187 B C. as the accession year of Pushyamitra Śuṅga may be arrived at by another data also. A vast majority of scholars maintain that Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne in C 324 B. C.[2] after having repulsed the Macedonian campaigns of Alexander the great in 326 B. C[3] Now from the date of accession of Chandragupta Maurya and before the coming of the Śuṅgas, 137 years (according to the Purāṇa texts) had elapsed. That is to say that the 10 Mauryas ruled for about 137 years after which came the rule of the Śuṅgas. Thus the Śuṅgas appear to have come

1. Chap. II, 31 & 32 p 12. Eng. trans. by W Geiger.
2. *Political History of Ancient India* by H.C. Raychaudhuri, p. 295.
3. Ibid, p, 264.

to power in about 187 B. C. (i. e. 324 B C.–137 = 187 B. C.).

Argued in some other way also we arrive at the same date of accession of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. According to Dīpavaṁśa VI I and Mahāvaṁśa V 21 the Maurya king Aśoka was consecrated to the throne after 218 years of the death of Lord Buddha and we know on the basis of Dīpavaṁśa VI. 21 & 22 and Mahāvaṁśa V. 22 that Aśoka had performed his Abhisheka ceremony after he had already ruled for 4 years. This means that he ascended the throne only 214 years after the death of Lord Buddha. And according to Mahāvaṁśa we know that Chandragupta ruled for 24 years [1] and Bindusāra for 28 years[2] after which came Aśoka So the total number of years between the accession of Chandragupta and Aśoka amounts to 52 (24 + 28) This means that Chandragupta ascended the throne 162 years (214 – 52 = 162) after the Nirvāṇa, of Lord Buddha, and on the authority of the statements as occuring in the Greek Writers, we know that Chandragupta ascended the throne in 324 B. C Therefore Buddha died in the year 486 B C Therefore, (162 + 324 = 486) and we already know that 486 B C was the 8th year of the rule of Ajātaśatru. Thus deducting 307 years (i. e. the years of rule beginning from Ajātaśatru down to the end of the Mauryas) from 494 B. C. (the year of accession of Ajātaśatru), we arrive at 187 B.C as the date of the accession of Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

(5) *The Capital and the Native Place of Pushyamitra*

The original home of Pushyamitra is nowhere explicitly mentioned. *Purāṇas* and *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, though they refer to Pushyamitra as the uprooter of the

1. *Mahāvaṁśa*, V. 16–17.
2. *Ibid*, V. 18.

last Maurya monarch Bṛihadratha, keep quite silent about his original home Scholars, however, have made only conjectures about his original home but nothing definitely has been said about it. There is a passage in Act V of *Mālavıkāgnimitraṁ* of Kālidāsa where Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra has been referred to as *Vaidıśasthaṁ Putraṁ* and on this strength Cunningham,[1] Rapson,[2] and R. P Chanda[3] have held that Pushyamitra was a native of Vidiśā, but a minute study of the passage in question will show the weakness in their views The passage is read as follows :—

स्वस्ति: यज्ञशरणात् सेनापति· पुष्यमित्रो वैदिशस्थं पुत्रं
आयुष्मन्तम् अग्निमित्रं स्नेहात् परिष्वज्य अनुदर्शयति ।

Pushyamitra here ıs writing a letter to his son Agnimitra statıoned at Vıdıśā as his Viceroy inviting him to attend the Horse Sacrifice which he was going to perform. He is wrıting this letter to him from his sacrificial enclosures. This passage thus suggests that Pushyamitra was not resıdıng at Vıdiśā Moreover, had he performed the Aśvamedha Yajñya at Vidiśā, his son Agnimitra at least must have been on the know of such an important ceremony, as he was, according to *Mālavıkāgnimıtraṁ*, already at Vidiśā as Viceroy of his father at that time. This may very well suggest that Vidiśā was, therefore, not the seat of such an important actıvity of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. The second thing to be considered is that Pushyamitra might have performed his Horse Sacrıfice in his Capital because of the various facilities which are normally expected in a Capital place. And we know that the Capital of the Mauryan kings was Pāṭaliputra and since Pushyamitra had ascended the throne after killing his

1. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1870, p. 226.
2. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 522.
3. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V. p. 393.

Royal Mauryan king, it is, therefore, very likely that Pāṭaliputra might also be his Capital and probably his Native Place too from where he would have liked to perform his Horse Sacrifice, the insignia of his undisputed Sovereignty.

The Punjab also was not the Capital of Pushyamitra Śuṅga Had the Punjab been his Capital, then Pushyamitra would not have been quite ignorant of the Greek invasions that were taking place there. Had Pushyamitra been himself present on the scene of action, he would have himself taken the trouble of fighting with the Greeks instead of sending his young grandson Vasumitra there to repulse the Greek attacks.

Kauśāmbī also might not be his Capital as according to the Pabhosā inscription, the area was being governed by a feudatory ruler during the reign of king Odraka, the 5th Śuṅga king and that the rule of a feudatory Chieftain could not be located within the Capital of a king to whom he was owing his allegiance. Thus the rule of a feudatory Chief was possible only outside the Capital of a king. Over and above from the end of the 2nd Century B. C. to the middle of the 4th Century A. D. Kauśāmbī was being ruled continuously by Local Rulers independent of any imperial pressure as is revealed by their coins found at Kauśāmbī Kauśāmbī, therefore, does not seem to be the Capital of Pushyamitra Śuṅga

Pāñchāla also does not appear to be the Capital of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, as it has also a long series of uniform coinage of no less than twenty two Local Rulers, Viz Rudragupta, Jayagupta, Damagupta etc. beginning from the end of the 2nd Century B. C to the middle of the 4th Century A D. It is, therefore, almost certain that Pāñchāla also could not be the Capital of the Śuṅga kings during the period mentioned above.

With regard to Ayodhyā, it is, however, not quite certain as to whether it served as the Capital of Pushyamitra Śuṅga or not? The Ayodhyā inscription of king Dhana (deva ?) the 6th in descent from king Pushyamitra presents some difficulty in the matter. On the basis of this inscription it may be assumed that Ayodhyā was probably the Capital of at least the later Śuṅgas but the point whether it actually served as the Capital of the Śuṅga rulers we may take the help of the Numismatic evidences. During the time of Pushyamitra there were a number of Local Rulers in Ayodhyā as is revealed by their coins found at this place. As a matter of fact, there is a series of uniform coinage of a large number of Local Rulers beginning from the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga down to the end of the 3rd Century A D This would, therefore, suggest that Ayodhyā was probably independent at the time of Pushyamitra and also during the time of the later Śuṅgas Probably, the kings whose coins are found at Ayodhyā were ruling in a feudatory capacity accepting (in reality) the Overlordship of the Śuṅgas, as can be inferred from the Ayodhyā inscription which declares Dhana (deve ?) 6th in descent from Pushyamitra Śuṅga as king of Ayodhyā. But in any case, the finds of the coins would preclude the possibility of Ayodhyā being the Capital of Pushyamitra Śuṅga and also of the later Śuṅga rulers as the Capital of a king cannot be expected to be within the jurisdiction of feudatory Chieftains Under the circumstances, it then appears quite probable that Pāṭaliputra was the Capital of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, from where he celebrated his most significant Horse Sacrifice and in which he had invited hiss on Agnimitra stationed then at Vidiśā as his Viceroy.

CHAPTER II

Pushyamitra Śuṅga and the Buddhists

Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty has been represented by a great majority of scholars as persecutor of Buddhists.

E. J. Rapson writes, "In Buddhist literature Pushyamitra figures as a great persecutor of Buddhists bent on acquiring fame as the annihilator of Buddha's doctrine. He meditated the destruction of the Kukkuṭārāmas, the great monastery which Aśoka had built for one thousand monks to the south–east of Pāṭaliputra; but as he approached the entrance he was met with the roar as of a mighty lion and hastily withdrew in fear to the city He then went to Śākala (Śialkot) in the eastern Punjab and attempted to exterminate the Buddhist community there offering a reward of 100 Dinaras for the head of every monk"[1]

V. Smith writes, "Pushyamitra was not content with the peaceful revival of Hindu rites, but indulged in savage persecution of Buddhism, burning monasteries and slaying monks from Magadha to Jālandhara, in the Punjāb. Many monks who escaped his sword are said to have fled into the territories of other rulers"[2]

R. P. Chanda says, "This legend clearly indicates that Pushyamitra was remembered by the Buddhists as a non-Buddhist monarch whose dominion extended as far as Śākala (Śialkot) and who tried to rival Aśoka in power and fame."[3]

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1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 518. by E.J. Rapson.
2. *The Early History of India*, 4th. Edition 1924, p 213. by V. Smith.
3. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, 1929, p. 398.

P. C. Bagchi says, "Mr. Jayaswal was right in recognising the king called 'Gomimukhya' as Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Although it is not clear why he is called 'Gomimukhya' 'the chief of the Gomis,' there is little doubt that it is he who is meant in the verses described above."[1] And we know that king Gomimukhya is noted for his anti-Buddhist activities as is revealed to us from the text of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa.[2]

And lastly to use the words of N. N. Ghosh, "The discontentment of the Brāhmins who were the leader of the society found a fitting weapon in the Senāpati Pushyamitra Śuṅga, himself a Brāhamaṇa........ Pushyamitra had to justify his position by destroying Buddhist monasteries on the one hand and restoring the sacrificial ceremonies of the Brāhamaṇic faith on the other."[3]

The consensus of opinion, thus, seems to be clear that Senāpati Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists. The historical evidence adduced by scholars in support of thier views that Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists may be classified into two categories Firstly, the historical material which directly ascribes to Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the persecution of Buddhists, and secondly,

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII. No. 2, 1946, p. 82.
2. Sanskrit text of *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* :—
   भविष्यन्ति न सन्देहः तस्मिं काले युगाधमे ।
   राजा गोमिमुख्यस्तु शासनान्तक्षपको मम ।
   प्राचिं दिशिमुपादाय कश्मीरे-द्वारमेव तु ।
   नाशयिष्यति तदा मूढः विहारां धातुवरांस्तथा ।
   भिक्षवः शीलसम्पन्नां घातयिष्यति दुर्मतिः ।
   उत्तरां दिशमाश्रित्य मृत्युस्तस्य भविष्यति ।
   (Vide : *An Imperial History of India*, by K. P. Jayaswal, p. 38—Text).
3. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Indian History Congress*, Aligarh, 6th session, 1943, p. 114.

the historical circumstance which renders probable, even inevitable the persecution of the Buddhists by the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. In the first category may be placed the evidence contained in or derived from the *Divyāvadāna*, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the history of Buddhism by Tāranātha. In the second category is to be placed the reference to the so called historical circumstance that Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the commander-in-chief was the leader of the Brāhamaṇical reaction against the Aśokan policy which favoured the Buddhists and encroached upon the time honoured privileges of the Brāhamaṇas.

But on close examination it will be found that there are no positive historical evidences to sustain this verdict on Pushyamitra Śuṅga pronounced by the learned scholars. The materials contained in the *Divyāvadāna*, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and Tāranātha's history on which reliance has been placed, are not of such a character as to enable us to draw with any degree of confidence the conclusion that Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists.

The correctness of the Brāhamaṇical revolution under the militant leadership of Pushyamitra Śuṅga has already been ably disputed by H. C. Raychaudhuri in his book *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition. His arguments there really suggest that there is practically no justification for looking upon the assassination of king Bṛihadratha by Pushyamitra Śuṅga as the culmination of the Brāhamaṇical reaction against the Mauryan rule. Pushyamitra Śuṅga was only an ambitious leader of the military coup-de-tat and not of a powerful and dissatisfied section of the civilian population and that he happened to be a Brāhamaṇa was a chance coincidenc.[1]

1. N. N. Ghosh in his article 'Did Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecute the Buddhists' published in the volume

It now, therefore, remains to consider only the direct evidence in support of the view that Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists The source most strongly and commonly relied upon is the *Divyāvadāna.* But we must remember at the outset that the *Divyāvadāna* is a very late work.[1] It is no doubt a fact that it does speak of one Pushyamitra who had made up his decision to put an end to the religion of Buddha. He along with a huge army had proceeded to the Buddhist monastery, the Kukkuṭārāma, with a view to demolish it; but as he reached the entrance he was terrified by a roar as like that of a mighty lion and so he returned to Pāṭaliputra disappointed. Then he proceeded to Śialkot where he thought to uproot the Buddhist organisation and to kill the monks and for which, he offered a reward of 100 Dinaras to those who would give him the head of a Śramaṇa By this proclamation, the Bhikshus were begun to be persecuted mercilessly irrespective of age[2] Though this is a fact with regard to one Pushyamitra of the *Divyāvadāna* but the point to be determined is 'Is there any sound reason for identifying Pushyamitra of the *Divyāvadāna* with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the commander-in-chief, (mentioned in the *Purāṇas*) ? Raychaudhuri has rightly pointed out that Pushyamitra, the persecuting monarch of the *Divyāvadāna,* is represented as a Maurya, a descendant of Aśoka himself.[3] That he

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of the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Indian History Congress*, 1943, has differed from H C Raychaudhuri in his arguments but in the present author's opinion Ghosh is rather unsuccessful in his attempt, as the arguments advanced by Raychaudhuri appear to him more convincing than his

1. *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. 2. p. 285, by Winternitz.
2. *Divyāvadāna*, edited by Cowel and Neil, pp. 433–34.
3. *Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, p. 3[illegible], also cf. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. by Cowel & Neil, p. 433.

belonged to the Maurya dynasty is further made clear in the last line of the *Divyāvadāna* 'यदा पुष्यमित्रो राजा प्रघातितः तदा मौर्यवंशः समुच्छिन्नः ।'[1]

No attempt by any writer, save by Raychaudhuri, was made to explain this great obstacle in identifying Pushyamitra of the *Divyāvadāna* with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the commander-in-chief But Raychaudhuri also missed the most significant point in this connection, which is, that Pushyamitra of the *Divyāvadāna* is never described by the epithet 'Senānī' or 'Senāpati'. But Pushyamitra Śuṅga is almost invariably referred to as Pushyamitra, the Senānī or Senāpati in the Ayodhyā inscription, Mālavikāgnimitraṁ,[2] Purāṇas,[3] and Harshacharita[4] Specially significant is his description as Senāpati in the Ayodhyā inscription,

> कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेधयाजिनः सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन कौशिकी-
> पुत्रेण धन…… ……धर्मराज्ञा पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं कारितम् ।

Thus, really it appears that Pushyamitra did not assume the Royal title. He was only known or liked to be known by the title 'Senāpati' or 'Senānī.' The term Senāpati or Senānī was, therefore, an important epithet of Pushyamitra Śuṅga by which he could easily be recognised.

Further, P C Bagchi[5] has tried to identify

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1. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. by Cowel & Neil, p 434
2. यज्ञशरणात्सेनापतिः पुष्यमित्रो वैदिशस्थं ।
   पुत्रमायुष्मन्तमग्निमित्रं स्नेहात्परिष्वज्यानुदर्शयति ॥
   (Kale's First edition, Act V. p. 104).
3. पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धृत्य स बृहद्रथं कारयिष्यति
   वै राज्यं षट्त्रिंशति समा नृप ।
   (Vide: *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by F. E. Pargiter, p 70).
4. बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताशेषसैन्यः सेनानीरनार्यो
   मौर्यं बृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्यमित्रः स्वामिनम् ।
   (P. V. Kane's edition 1912, Bombay, p. 50).
5. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1946, p. 86.

'YAKSHA KṚIMIŚA' of the *Divyāvadāna*,[1] with the Yavana king Demetrius on entirely phonological ground. In a way he has tried to point out the Greek interference with Pushyamitra of the *Divyāvadāna* and we know that Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the commander-in-chief had also to deal with a Greek invasion (as is referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*) in which his grandson prince Vasumitra was the leader of the army. Hence Bagchi has in a way suggested that Pushyamitra of the *Divyāvadāna* may be Pushyamitra Śuṅga Thus he holds that the Greeks were the enemies of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. True it is a fact. But this view point of Bagchi is rather weakened by the revelation of another fact in the *Divyāvadāna* itself in the same context. Really if YAKSHA of the *Divyāvadāna* stands for Yavana as held by Bagchi, and if Yavana is said to be an enemy of Pushyamitra, he cannot at the same time be a friend of Pushyamitra which is made clear from the following lines of the *Divyāvadāna*--

पुष्यमित्रस्य राज्ञः पृष्ठतः यक्षो महान प्रमाणे ।
यूयम् तस्यानुभावात् स राजा न प्रतिहन्यते ॥

i. e. Pushyamitra had also one strong Yavana (if यक्ष at all stands for Yavana) in his side and due to whose influence he was not being killed. Now the question arises—who was this great Yavana ? He cannot be either Demetrius or Menander as both of them were against him but it is also a fact that they were probably the only powerful Greek kings during Pushyamitra's time. Hence how are we to reconcile the two opposite views i. e. 'Yavana'[2] a friend of Pushyamitra and also his enemy at the same time.

Even if we accept the identification of KṚIMIŚA with Demetrius, it is difficult to come to the conclusion

1. Edited by Cowel and Neil, p. 434.
2. Either Demetrius or Menander.

that Pushyamitra, killed at the orders of KṚIMIŚA... .. was but Pushyamitra Śuṅga, for in the absence of other references to the death of Pushyamitra Śuṅga at the hands of the Greek king Demetrius or his agent, this fact cannot be definitely ascertained.

The next source relied upon is Tāranātha's history of Buddhism It passes one's comprehension as to how on this material, Tāranātha can be relied to support the conclusion that Pushyamitra was the persecutor of Buddhists. N. N. Ghosh seems to be the only scholar who has, on the authority of Tāranātha, maintained that Pushyamitra Śuṅga was the persecutor of Buddhists. But a careful study of the translated (Eng) passage below will show the hollowness of the view of N N. Ghosh.

"After this Tāranātha relates only partially the history of Magadha, under the Chandrapāla and the Sena dynasties, the one of which rose immediately after the other It was in Bengal that king Harichandra who began the Royal line of Chandra, appeared. Of this race there were seven kings who openly supported Buddhism and who because of this are known by the common designation of the seven Chandras. Harichandra was succeeded by his nephew Aśokachandra and after him came his son Jayachandra who in his turn was succeeded by his son Nemachandra, Panichandra, Bhimachandra and Salachandra, who, it is said, were not very capable of holding such a position. Soon after Nemachandra took possession of the throne he was deprived of it by his minister Pushyamitra, who usurped it. It was at this time that the first inroad of strangers called Tirthikās or heretics into India, took place. After commencing war against Pushyamitra, they burnt, it is said, a number of temples beginning from Jālanadhara, and as far as Magadha, they killed a number of

Bhikshus, but a great many of them fled to other countries and Pushyamitra himself died in the North five years after."[1]

The allusion here to the persecutor of Buddhists or Bhikshus is at the hands of the invaders i e, Tirthikās and not to Pushyamitra Another point to be noted in this connection is that Pushyamitra of Tāranātha cannot be identified with Pushyamitra Śuṅga as he is not referred to there in either as Senānī or Senāpati which is a significant title for Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

The next source relied upon is *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a king Gomimukhya by name is represented as a persecutor of Buddhists. He is also said to have destroyed a number of Vihāras with relics and also monks of good conduct and that when he went to the North, he died there along with his officers and relatives after being attacked with a block of stone by an angry man.[2]

Jayaswal[3] has identified Gomimukhya with Pushyamitra Śuṅga. He has placed Gomimukhya just after the Maurya kings. Bagchi also supporting him adds a further reason that Gomimukhya might be the Chief of the army as 'Gomika' is a regular Prākrit form of Sanskrit Gaulmika and in this sense, Gomimukhya may mean the leader of a Gulma, Gulma being a particular army division.[4] But their views fail to take into account the following facts.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 363–64.
2. Verses 530–37. Vide : *An Imperial History of India*, by K. P. Jayaswal, pp. 38–39.
3. *An Imperial History of India*, by K. P. Jayaswal, p. 19.
4. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, No. 2. 1946. p. 82, foot-note.

(i) Firstly, the text of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* generally mentions the historical kings either by their original names or by their well known historical titles. Just for example, take the names of the following kings; Prasenajit, Bimbisāra, Chandragupta, Bindusāra, Aśoka etc. All these names very well suggest that they might be the same well known historical kings mentioned at various other places. We can safely identify this Prasenajit with Prasenajit of the *Purāṇas* and also Bindusāra, Bimbisāra etc with the Pauranic kings bearing these very names. Some of the kings of the Gupta dynasty here are mentioned by their Virudas or titles only. Kings Vikrama and Mahendra of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* may easily be identified with the well known kings, Chandragupta II and Kumāra Gupta I for they are known as such on their coins also In this way it can be said that Gomimukhya might also be a title and may be interpreted to mean 'Chief of the Army.' Hence this may be a title well suited to Pushyamitra Śuṅga. But against this view it may be pointed out that it is not the only possible meaning of the word 'Gomimukhya' P C. Bagchi himself suggests another meaning of the word 'Gomimukhya.' Bagchi says, "The name Gomimukhya which is also mentioned as 'Gomi–Ṣaṇḍa' in another verse stands for Pushyamitra, but its meaning is not clear. 'Gomi' means 'Jackal' and also 'a Buddhist lay worshipper'[1] Further, even if we accept that Gomimukhya means 'a Leader of Gulma' (Gulma being a particular army division), then also in this case Pushyamitra would not be even a full fledged General of the army. Bagchi has also admitted this fact[1] Moreover, nowhere else this title of Pushyamitra Śuṅga is referred to. Besides, one cannot be sure that

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1946, p. 82, foot-note.

Gomimukhya came just after the Maurya rulers for the idea of chronology of the writer of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is much confused. Aśoka is mentioned much earlier than Chandragupta and Bindusāra and even before the Nanda kings. Ajātaśatru is mentioned twice but whether there was only one king or there were two kings of the same name is, however, not clear.

As against this evidence of a highly doubtful character of Pushyamitra Śuṅga being a persecutor of Buddhists, we have positive evidence showing Pushyamitra Śuṅga as a monarch tolerant towards Buddhism. In this connection we may refer to the Bhārhut inscrption It records the erection of a Buddhist monument during the rule of the Śuṅgas. Scholars have raised doubts that 'Suganaṁ Raje' does not necessarily mean the reign of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. N. N. Ghose is one of them. But in reply it can be said that 'Suganaṁ Raje' does not exclude the reign of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. It does not say that after the reign of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, this Buddhist monument was established Raychaudhuri has rightly pointed out: 'The Buddhist monument at Bhārhut erected during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas does not also bear out the theory that the Śuṅgas among whom Pushyamitra is included by the *Purāṇas*, were the leaders of a militant Brāhmaṇism [1]

In the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, the mention of 'Paribrājika' attached to the court of the queen of Agnimitra in a position of trust and dignity further suggests that Buddhism was at that time looked upon with reverence and honour. Raychaudhuri gives further light by pointing out that Pushyamitra did not dispense with the services of the pro-Buddhist ministers and the court of his son

1. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, p. 389 by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

was being graced by Pandit Kauśikī, a Buddhist.[1] Milindapañho, a Buddhist work of c. 2nd–1st Century B C. also gives information about the Buddhist organisation in Magadha. There it is mentioned that venerable Assagutta asked Nāgasena to go to Pāṭaliputra Aśoka-park where dwelt the honourable Dhammarakshita for learning the words of Buddha from that teacher[2] At another place the *Milindapañho* refers to the Buddhist monks residing near Rājagriha.[3] The excavations at Kumhrār in Patna during the years 1950 to 1954 also exposed a number of monasteries which ranged in dates from 150 B. C. to 600 A D The Mahāvamśa[4] also refers to the numerous monasteries with thousands of monks at Vaiśālī and Rājagriha during the time of Duṭṭhagāmani of Ceylon who flourished in c. 101–77 B.C.[5], which roughly corresponds to the Śuṅga period. The deep-rooted establishment of the Buddhist monasteries at Magadha and at Vaiśālī during c. 101–77 B. C very well suggest that it might have taken some time before it was firmly established. It might be that it also existed during the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga Moreover, the Buddhist Rail-Pillars at Bodh-Gayā of the Śuṅga period which record the gifts of queens Kuraṅgī and Nāgadevi respectively also suggest that Buddhism was looked upon with respect by the Śuṅga kings in which Pushyamitra Śuṅga was also included The most significant point to be noted in this connection is that in the very heart of the dominion of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, there were various Aśokan Buddhist monuments which were not destroyed either by Pushyamitra or by

1. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, p. 398. by H. C Raychaudhuri.
2. *Milindapañho*, ed. by R. D. Vadekar, p. 17.
3. *Ibid.*, Chap. VI, p. 342.
4. *Mahāvamśa*, Chap. XXIX, Verse 30 & 33, p. 193, translated by W. Geiger.
5. *Ibid.*, p. XXXVII.

his followers. The Aśokan pillars at various places, e.g. at Lauriā-Nandangrah, at Sāranatha etc., and various other Buddhist organisations both at Magadha and at Vaiśālī were also not disturbed by Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

I see, therefore, no reason for not basing an estimate of Pushyamitra Śuṅga character on the evidence of historical material undoubtedly connected with the reign of the Śuṅgas instead of on inferences deduced from the later authors like the compilers of the *Divyāvadāna* or the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* specially when the identification of the person referred to therein with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the 'Senāpati,' is to put at its lowest, extremely doubtful Thus it would be not far from correct to say that the conclusion that Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists, is largely based on conjectures and surmises rather than on any sound historical material which alone can be a basis for the verdict of the historians.

CHAPTER III

1. *Pushyamitra Śuṅga & King Khāravela*

By a majority of scholars it is argued that Pushyamitra Śuṅga was contemporary of king Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā inscription in Orissa In the inscription[1] it is mentioned that king Khāravela defeated Bahasatimita or Bahapatimita, the then king of Magadha and caused a great consternation among the people. This Bahasatimita has been identified with Pushyamitra Śnṅga by a good number of scholars[2] But before entering into the validity of this identification, let us first see whether the Hāthigumphā inscription contains any date or whether we can arrive at its date from some internal evidences contained in it, as only then we can say whether king Khāravela was contemporary to Pushyamitra Śuṅga and the identification of Bahasatimita with Pushyamitra will then be rightly ascertained. The following are the internal evidences which may be taken into consideration for arriving at the date of the Hāthigumphā inscription and thereby for solving the problem of contemporaneity and right identification.

(a) the reference to king Śātakarni in line 4

(b) the mention of king Nandarāja in line 6 & 12

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1. Line 12.
2. V Smith, Vide *Oxford History of India*, p. 58 n.
   S. Konow, Vide *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 29
   Dubreuil, Vide . *Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Raychaudhuri, p 373.
   K. P. Jayaswal, Vide: *J. B O. R. S.*, Vol III, 1917, pp 476-77.
   R. P. Chanda : Vide : *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1929, p. 594 ff.

(c) the so called mention of the Greek king Demetrius.

(d) the so called reference to Mauryan Era in line 16.

The identification of king Śātakarṇi mentioned in line 4 of the Hāthigumphā inscription is not easy to discern, as many kings in the Āndhra dynasty of the west were known by this name. Whether this Śātakarṇi of the Hāthigumphā inscription was Śātakarṇi I or Gautamī-putra Śātakarṇi or Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi, we, however, can not definitely say. But inorder to arrive at a probable identification we may take the help of the palaeographical grounds

Palaeographically, the Hāthigumphā inscription may be dated in the last quarter of the 1st Century B.C. R. P. Chanda writes, "The knob or nail-head on top of the main vertical line of the letters is a feature that is always to be found in decidedly later inscriptions all over India, such as the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Mathurā and Western India and of later Āndhra kings found in the cave temples of Western India and on the stones of Amrāvatī.[1] The above noted features we also fiind in the Hāthigumphā inscription i. e to say we do find the presence of the knob on top of the main vertical lines of letters and this would, therefore, place this inscription in the last quarter of the 1st Century B C. or even later than that. R. P. Chanda has rightly observed the following main features of the Hāthigumphā inscriptions :—

(a) a very prominent decorative feature, a small knob or head on top of letters.

(b) the letter '*ka*' has the shape of a Greek cross—

1. *I. H. Q.* V, 1929, p. 602.

with horizontal line invariably smaller than the vertical line.

(c) the lower part of *chha* (छ) consists of a pair of loops touching each other and the whole has the shape of a butterfly

(d) the lower part of '*Ta*' is semi-circular.

(e) the longer vertical line of letter '*Bha*' has invariably a straight vertical line to the left." [1]

All these palaeographical traits represent decidedly post Śuṅga script. Thus, if the Hāthigumphā inscription is dated in the post Śuṅga period, then Śātakarṇi of the inscription may not be Śātakarṇi I but some other king having this name He may be Śātakarṇi II but in any case king Khāravela can not be contemporary to Pushyamitra and Pushyamitra can not be identical with Bahasatimita

The mention of king Nandarāja in line 6 & 12 of the Hāthigumphā inscription is very significant for determining the date of the inscription The passage where the name occurs runs as follows :—

पंचमे च दानी वसे नन्दराजति-वस-सत-ओ (घा)
टितं तनसुलिय वाटा पणाडि नगरं पवेस (य) ति ।

This passage has been diversely interpreted by scholars. According to K P Jayaswal Nandarāja is the same as Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana, a king of the Śiśunāga dynasty. Jayaswal further maintains that the word ति-वस-सत in the inscription refers to Nanda Era which was started in 458 B C. Nanda Samvat comes out when 400 is added to Vikram Samvat and this was the time of king Nandavardhana who flourished before Mahāpadma Nanda [2] At one

1. *I. H. Q.*, V, 1929, pp. 600–602.
2. *Nāgari Pracharini Patrika*, Vol. VIII, p. 306.

time he held that ति-वस-सत stood for 300 years and so accordingly he placed Khāravela three centuries after Nandarāja (Nandavardhana) i. e. to say 300 years after 458 B. C. i. e. = 158 B. C. [1] But at another time he changed his view and placed him only 103 years after Nandarāja i. e. 458 B.C.—103 = 355 B C. [2] H. C. Raychaudhuri, however, differs from Jayaswal in his view and says "But we have already seen that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Śiśunāga king and that the Śiśunāgas do not appear to have had anything to do with Kalinga. It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought all under his sway and uprooted all Kshatriyas or the old reigning families So we should identify 'Nandarāja' of the Hāthigumphā inscription, who held possession of Kalinga either with Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons." [3]

Thus according to Raychaudhuri, Nandarāja was Mahāpadma Nanda and in support of his view he has advanced very cogent arguments [4] and the present author fully agrees with them Now we know that Khāravela had extended an old canal into his capital after ति-वस-सत of king Nandarāja. The word ति-वस-सत would mean either 103 or 300 years after Nandarāja but in neither case Pushyamitra would be contemporary of king Khāravela. We know that Mahāpadma Nanda flourished before Chandragupta Maurya who had ascended the throne in 324 B.C. according to the Classical writers. And according to the Buddhist

1. *Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Raychaudhuri, 5th ed., p. 376.
2. *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. VIII, p. 306.
3. *Political Histoy of Ancient India* by H.C. Raychaudhuri 5th, ed., pp 376-77 also cf. *M.A.S. I.* No. I, p. 12.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 377.

Chronicle, *Mahāvaṁśa*, the nine Nandas (including Mahāpadma Nanda) ruled for about 22 years. Thus, this would mean that Mahāpadma Nanda must have flourished 22 years earlier than Chandragupta Maurya i.e. 324 B. C. + 22 = 346 B.C. Thus king Khāravela flourished either in c 46 B. C., if we take ति-वस-सत to mean 300 years, or c. 243 B. C if we take ति-वस-सत to mean 103 years. So in neither case king Khāravela can be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

So far the mention of the Greek king Demetrius (?) in the Hāthigumphā inscription is concerned, the line which is said to give the reading यवन-राजा-डिमित is not clear at all. The reading is so doubtful that nothing can be said with any degree of certainty that there was at all a Greek king Demetrius by name who was contemporary to king Khāravela Hence any kind of speculation, on the basis of the so called existence of a Greek king to point out the contemporaneity of king Khāravela with Pushyamitra Śuṅga will be highly conjectural Similar is the case with regard to the mention of the so called Mauryan Era in line 16, which in reality does not exist in the inscription at all Thus on the basis of the aforesaid observations specially on the ground of the palaeographical traits of the Hāthigumphā inscription, king Khāravela, in the author's opinion, flourished in the last quarter of the 1st Century B. C. and, therefore, was not contemporary to Pushyamitra Śuṅga and naturally, therefore, Bahasatimita can not be identical with Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

(2) *Pushyamitra Śuṅga and The Greeks*

One of the greatest achievements of Pushyamitra Śuṅga was the repulsion of the Greek invasion and the performance of the two Horse-sacrifices in commemoration of his victories The invasion of the Greeks

has been referred to by Patañjali and also by Kālidāsa. Patañjali says "अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्, अरुणद्यवनः माध्यमिकाम्" i. e. a certain Yavana king besieged Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Mādhyamikā (probably Nāgarī near Chitor). This Greek invasion must have taken place during the time of Pushyamitra since Pushyamitra and Patañjali were contemporary as is made clear from a passage in the *Mahābhāshya* itself. The passage is "इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः" i e. here I perform the Sacrifice for Pushyamitra. It thus appears that Patañjali was the Sacrificial Priest of Pushyamitra They were thus contemporary to each other. It is very often argued that the Greek invasion referred to in the *Mahābhāshya* denoted a past action, i e. not happened within the life time of Patañjali But we know that before citing the passage, "अरुणद्यवन. साकेतम्, अरुणद्यवनः माध्यमिकाम्" as illustration, Patañjali has cited the वार्त्तिक "परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते, प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये" which means that an action which happened out of sight but within the range of sight of the narrator This "वार्त्तिक" thus leads to the conclusion that the Greek invasion took place out of sight of the narrator but within his life time. The Greek invasion during the time of Pushyamitra is further witnessed by Kālidāsa. According to *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa, prince Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, had been put in charge of the Sacrificial Horse which had been let loose to roam about unchallenged, but unfortunately the Greeks obstructed the free move of the horse and so it resulted in a conflict between the Greeks on the one side and Vasumitra on the other on the southern bank of Sindhu [1] In the end Vasumitra gave a crushing defeat to his enemies and rescued the Sacrificial Horse of his

1 *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act V, p. 104, Ed. by M. R. Kale, 1st Edition.

grandfather. Pushyamitra, then being freed from the troubles performed. his Horse Sacrifice which is vouched for by the Ayodhyā inscription. According to the Ayodhyā inscription Pushyamitra seems to have performed two Horse-Sacrifices. The inscription runs as follows :—

कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेध-याजिनः, सेनापतेः पुष्य (f) मत्रस्य षष्ठेन कौशिकी पुत्रेण धन······धर्मराज्ञा पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं कारितं ।

The first Horse Sacrifice has been vouched for probably by Patañjali who says इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः । Pushyamıtra, therefore, may be said to have performed two Horse Sacrifices which thus signified that he might have been a very powerful king.

CHAPTER IV

(1) *The period of rule of Pushyamitra Śuṅga*

For how many years, Pushyamitra Śuṅga ruled, it is not definite. But it has been commonly accepted that his rule lasted for about 36 years Let us therefore examine the validity of this view.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Pushyamitra ruled for 36 years[1] but according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and also the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, he ruled for 60 years.[2] Now in between these two views, the former one appears to be more plausible and reasonable Generally it has been seen that a king's rule or even a generation itself does not last for more than 25 to 30 years or utmost not more than 40 years We may, for example, refer to the years of rule of the great powerful kings like Chandragupta Maurya and Aśoka Chandragupta's rule lasted for about 24 years whereas the long rule of king Aśoka also lasted for not more than 35 years. There is hardly any instance of an Indian king ruling for 60 years An individual reign of a king generally does not last for 60 years. Hence 36 years of rule of Pushyamitra is far more justified.

Merutuṅga, a Jaina writer, on the other hand in his *Theravalī*,[3] has assigned a reign of 30 years to

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1. "पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धृत्य स बृहद्रथम् ।
   कारयिष्यति वै राज्यं षट्त्रिंशति समा नृपः ॥'
   (Vide : *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by Pargiter, p. 31).
2. Vide : *I. H. Q.* Vol. I, No. I, p. 92.
3. A genealogical table of kings of Ujjaini. सठि पालग-रणो पण्णावणा सयम् तु होई नन्दनं, अट्ठसयम् मुरियाणाम् तिशम् चिय पुसमित्तस बलमित्त भानुमित्त ।
   (Vide · *Indian Antiquary* 1914, p. 119.)

Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Now we have to determine whether Pushyamitra ruled for 36 years or only for 30 years as maintained by the Jaina writers. Now with regard to this view it may be pointed out that Pushyamitra may have actually ruled for only 30 years although he might have come to power 5 to 6 years even earlier–but not as a Sovereign king R. C. Majumdar has rightly said that even before the tragic end of Bṛihadratha, Pushyamitra had long been defacto, if not de-jure king of Magadha. [1] Hence the total period of rule might be 36 years in that way (counting right from the date of his coming to power). Thus his rule came to an end in 151 B. C (187 B C–36 = 151 B. C.).

(2) *Pushyamitra Śuṅga as a ruler*

Pushyamitra Śuṅga was a very far sighted ruler. He knew the situation fully well that the moment he would assume the Royal title he might face troubles and thereby may not achieve his desired object. So he did not assume any Royal title and liked to be called only by the term सेनानी or सेनापति inspite of the fact that he actually happened to be the king. He was, therefore, a great diplomat in this respect. His great credit or his genius lies in bringing about tranquility and peace in his kingdom If the authority of the *Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gārgī Saṁhitā* is taken into consideration, then just before the accession of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, there was alround chaos caused by the Greek invasions and the peaceful life of the people was highly disturbed. In this connection D R. Mankad has rightly said that 'The battle at Pāṭaliputra seems to have been very terrible and the Purāṇa writer dwells in details on the utter downfall—political,

1. *I. H. Q.* Vol. I, No. 1, p. 92.

ethical and social life of the country. The society lost its vigour and fell upon bad days[1] But this critical situation, however, did not continue for long. The moment Pushyamitra came to the throne, everything was set right and the country began to prosper.[2]

1. Vide ' *Yuga Purānaṁ* by D. R Mankad, p. 10; Verses 94-112, pp. 32-34

2 Vide ' *Yuga Purānam* by Mankad, lines 148-151:-In this connection, however, it may be pointed out that *Yuga Purāṇa* does not specially mention the rule of Pushyamitra but it refers to the rule of a Brāhmana king after the fall of the Greeks and we know that Pushyamitra was a Brāhmana and his rule has been referred to by Patañjali in the *Mahābhāshya* as a Brāhmaṇa Rājya (i. e the rule of a Brāhmana king, vide *Mahābhāshya* VI 2 130. Vol III, p. 134 Kielhorn's edition). Hence I quite agree with D. R. Mankad in his view that lines 148-49 of the *Yuga Purāna section of the Gārgī Saṁhitā* refer to the reign of Pushyamitra who was a Brāhmana. Further there is every reason to hold that Brāhmana here stands for Pushyamitra and no other king because previous to this Brāhmana rule, the kings who ruled in Magadha are mentioned by their names, namely, Amlāṭa, Gopāla, Pushyaka and Anaranya. After Anaranya comes the rule of a Brāhmana and the reason for not giving the name of this Brāhmana king (namely Pushyamitra) was probably to lay emphasis upon the revival of Brāhmanism after the Yavanas were uprooted. That Brāhmana king here is no other than Pushyamitra may also be determined by the mention of the king Agnimitra just after the rule of that Brāhmana king. And we know that the predecessor of Agnimitra was Pushyamitra, who was his father. So it is quite probable that the Brāhmana king was no other than Pushyamitra, the Śuṅga king. (But one thing to be considered in this regard is the mention of the period of rule of Pushyamitra which differs from the statement of the Purānas, viz :—

पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धृत्य स बृहद्रथम् ।
कारयिष्यति वै राज्यम् षट्त्रिंशति समा नृपः ॥

According to *Yuga Purānaṁ*, he ruled for only 3 years, where as the Purānas assign him a long reign of 36 years. Although there is no definite explanation for such a difference but it may, however, be said in this connection that probably the statement of the *Yuga*

About the army of Pushyamitra Śuṅga it is said in the *Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gārgī Saṁhitā* that

पुरस्य दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वाहनं तस्य दृश्यते ।
हयानां द्वे सहस्रे तु गजवाहस्तु (क) ल्पतः ॥

If this authority of the *Yuga Purāṇa* is to be believed then his army consisted of 2000 horses and innumerable elephants. Pushyamitra thus had a great insight into the political administration of his kingdom

(3) *Dominions of Pushyamitra Śuṅga*

The performance of the Horse Sacrifice[1] by Pushyamitra Śuṅga signifies that he was undoubtedly a powerful king. It is but, therefore, natural that he must have had a vast empire. The empire of Pushyamitra was extending up to Vidiśā which was being governed then by Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, as Viceroy [2] That Agnimitra was stationed at Vidiśā as Viceroy can also be inferreed from the following lines of *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* 'यज्ञशरणात्सेनापति. पुष्यमित्रो वैदिशस्थपुत्रमायुष्मन्तमग्निमित्रं स्नेहात्परिष्वज्यानुदर्शयति ।[3] In *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* we further get a reference to a fight between Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra and a Yavana king on the banks of river Sindhu. Pushyamitra Śuṅga had made his grandson Vasumitra in charge of his Sacrificial Horse which was let loose to go about unchallenged but while roaming about on the

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Purāṇaṁ is incorrect on the ground that during such a short rule it was not possible for a king to perform two Aśvamedha Sacrifices (the symbol of undisputed sovereignty) which Pushyamitra had performed. Hence the period of rule as given by the *Yuga Purāṇaṁ* appears to be incorrect.

1. Cf. Ayodhyā inscription, *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali.
2. *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, Act V. 20. "सम्पद्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे".
3. *Ibid*, Ed. by M. R. Kale, 1st edition, Act V, p. 104.

southern bank of river Sindhu, it was captured by a Yavana king and consequently Vasumitra entered into fight with the Greeks (?) and in the end became victorious. [1] If this tradition recorded by Kālidāsa is to be believed then the empire of Pushyamitra was extended to the southern bank of river Sindhu. Now the question arises, whether this river Sindhu signified the famous river 'Indus' of Northern India (near Punjāb) or the river Sindhu of Nārwār. One set of scholars are of opinion that this river Sindhu was the Sindhu of Nārwār,[2] while others take it for the great Sindhu i.e. Indus. In this connection the view of R. C Majumdar for the river Indus, seems to be more plausible and cogent He writes "It is related in *Mālavikāgnimitram* that the news of young Vasumitra's sanguinary fight with the Greeks on the banks of the Sindhu were first reported to the court of Vidiśā by Pushyamitra in a letter which he addressed to his 'son from the city of Pāṭaliputra. That the court of Vidiśā was till then absolutely ignorant of the whole thing follows clearly from the breathless anxiety with which Vasumitra's mother was listening to the letter in order to learn about the fate of her son. Now, if the river Sindhu on the bank of which the battle took place was meant for the Sindhu of Nārwār, which must have been within a few miles of the kingdom of Vidiśā, if not actually included in it, is it conceivable that Agnimitra would have remained ignorant of it, till the news reached Pātaliputra and thence to Vidiśā. On the other hand as there was a royal road from Pāṭaliputra to the Punjāb, we can understand how the Royal Courtiers took the news from the Indus to Pāṭaliputra before the

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1 *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act V, p. 104 & Act V, verse 15, p 105.

2. *Early History of India* by V. Smith 3rd ed. pp. 200–1.

outlying provinces in Central India could know anything of it."[1] To the author, the above observation of R.C. Majumdar seems to be reasonable and so in the fitness of things, the empire of Pushyamitra included the regions lying round about the southern bank of river Indus. According to the Ayodhyā inscription [2] which records the erection of a Ketana (an abode) to Phalgudeva by Dhana (deva) who was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra, the performer of the two Aśvamedhas, Kośala was included in Pushyamitra's empire. Dhana (deva), the ruler of Kośala was probably a Viceroy of Pushyamitra and also his relation. At one place in *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* it is said that Vīrasena of inferior caste was the brother of the queen of Agnimitra. He had been given the command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Narmadā (अस्ति देव्या वर्णावरो भ्राता वीरसेनो नाम । स भर्त्रा नर्मदातीरेऽन्तपालदुर्गे स्थापित:) This means that the empire of Pushyamitra was extended up to the banks of river Narmadā

According to the Bhārhut inscription[3] the Bhārhut region (Baghelkhand) was also under the Śuṅga empire This region was being governed by a Śuṅga feudatory Dhanabhūti That Mathurā also formed part of his empire is revealed by the discovery of an inscription at Mathurā (Ins. No 125) where the name of Dhanabhūti occurs Mathurā was probably put in charge of the feudatories of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. So far Pāṭaliputra is concerned, it definitely formed part of the Śuṅga empire because Pushyamitra had come to the throne after murdering the king of Magadha He was in reality the king of Magadha but

1. Vide . *I. H Q* Vol. 1. 1925 No 2, p. 217.
2. Vide : *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. X. 1925, p. 203.
3. Luder's list of Brāhmī inscriptions No. 687–688. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, appendix.

also governed other provinces with the help of Viceroys and Governors as already stated earlier. After the death of Pushyamitra, most probably the Capital of the later kings of this dynasty was shifted to Vidiśā and from Vidiśā these kings probably looked after the affairs of Magadha too as will appear from the activities of the later kings of this dynasty which mostly centre round Vidiśā and its vicinity.

(4) *The political administration in the days of Pushyamitra.*

We have already seen that Pushyamitra had a large dominion extending from Pāṭaliputra right up to Vidiśā with river Narmadā as its boundry line in the south, and included also the cities of Ayodhyā and Kośāmbī extending up to southern boundry of river Indus in the west Pushyamitra governed his such a vast dominion with the help of Governors and Viceroys and a Council of ministers

According to Kālidāsa, Vidiśā was governed by Agnimitra as Viceroy of his father Pushyamitra,[1] and Pāṭaliputra was administered by Pushyamitra himself Kośala or Ayodhyā was governed by another Viceroy Dhana, a relation of the Emperor himself. That Pushyamitra maintained a Council (of ministers) is vouched for by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* where he has referred to the Sabhā (council) of Pushyamitra.[2] With regard to the existence of the Sabhā of Pushyamitra H C Raychaudhuri has observed "But it is uncertain as to whether the term refers to a Royal Durbar, a tribunal of justice or a Council of magnetes.[3] But that there was

1. Vide : *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act V, verse 20.
2. *Mahābhāshya*, ed. by Kielhorn Vol. I. p. 177 line 10 Sūtra, I. 1. 68 (7).
3. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed. p. 389 by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

a Council of ministers even for helping the Viceroy in the administration is revealed by Kālidāsa.[1] Agnimitra used to consult with his Parishad on various administrative matters Thus after consulting his Council of ministers regarding the despatch of army for fighting with the king of Vidarbha, he at once ordered his cabinet to send to the General Vīrasena a written instruction to this effect.[2] Ministers thus had an important role to play in the administration, and in the words of Raychaudhuri, the Council continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery[3] That ministers were consulted or ministers had to consult with the king on certain administrative matters may also be gleaned at by the following passage of the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* The passage runs as follows.

बाहतक :—प्रकृत्यमित्र· प्रतिकूलकारी च मे वैदर्भः। तद्यातव्यपक्षे स्थितस्य पूर्वसंकल्पितसमुन्मूलनाय वीरसेनप्रमुखं दण्डचक्रमाज्ञापय ।[4]

i. e a certain minister was asked by king Agnimitra to give orders to the avenging army under the command of Vīrasena for rooting out the Vidarbha who was a natural enemy of Agnimitra. That different ministers were put in charge of different departments is further revealed by a statement of Agnimitra himself.

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1. Vide : *Mālavikagnimitram* (a) देव एवममात्यपरिषदे निवेदयामि (b) देव अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । कल्याणी देवस्य बुद्धिः । मंत्रिपरिषदोऽप्येवमेव दर्शनं (Act V, p. 103.) (c) ततः प्रविशत्येकान्तस्थपरिजनो मंत्रिणा लेखहस्तेनान्वास्यमानो राजा ।
   राजा :—(अनुवाचितलेखममात्यं विलोकय)। वाहत किं प्रतिपद्यते वैदर्भः। (Act I, p. 10 of Kale's 1st edition.)
2. राजा :—तेन हि मंत्रिपरिषदं ब्रूहि। सेनापतये वीरसेनाय लिख्यतामेवं क्रियतामिति। (Act V, p. 104).
3. *Political History of Ancient India* by H C. Raychaudhuri, 5th ed. pp. 389-90.
4. Act I, p. 11, of M. R. Kale's 1st edition, 1918.

"राजा (विदुषकं दृष्ट्वा) :—अयमपरः कार्यान्तरसचिवोऽस्मानुपस्थितः ।"[1]

Justice was properly administered. Jails or prisons were maintained for the confinement of criminals.[2] This shows that the criminals were punished. Justice was probably in the hands of the king. The king could order for the release of prisoners. The prisoners were generally set free on festive days.[3] Justice was generally administered by the king as is made clear from the following passage of the *Mālavikāgnimitram.*

इच्छाम्यार्यपुत्रेण सहाशोकवृक्षस्य प्रसूनलक्ष्मीं प्रत्यक्षीकर्तुमिति तथावद्धर्मासनगतं देवं प्रतिपालयामि ।[4]

i e the door keeper (प्रतिहारी) will wait for the king who is engaged in delivering judgment (धर्मासनगतं)

With regard to the political administration of Pushyamitra, K P. Jayaswal has observed[5] that Pushyamitra had eight sons who were ruling simultaneously with their father at different places, probably as Provincial governors This view of Jayaswal is based on the statement of *Vāyu Purāṇa* which says पुष्यमित्रसुताश्चाष्टौ भविष्यन्ति समा नृपाः ।[6]

But here, actually speaking, the construction of the words is wrongly given by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* Pargiter has

1. *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* Act I, p. 12, Ed by M. R. Kale, 1st Edition 1918
2. *Ibid.* Act IV, p 73, Ed. by M R Kale, 1st Ed. 1918
   भणिता मया । देवचिन्तकैर्विज्ञापितो राजा । सोपसर्गं वो नक्षत्रम् । सर्वबन्धनमोक्षः क्रियतामिति ।
3. *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* Act IV, Verse 17, p 85 Ed. by M. R. Kale, 1st Edition 1918
   राजा—नार्हति कृतापराधोऽप्युत्सवदिवसेषु परिजनो बन्धम् । इति मोचिते मयैते प्रणिपतितुं मामुपगते च ।
4. Act V, p 91.
5. *J. B. O R. S.* Vol. X, pt. III, page 206.
6. *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by Pargiter, p. 31, foot note 10.

rightly pointed out[1] that here the singulars have been wrongly converted into plurals through misapplying अष्टौ to सुत instead of to समाः which stands for years. The passage should have been पुष्पमित्रसुतश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः। i. e. the son of Pushpamitra will rule for 8 years (अष्टौ समाः). This is made quite clear in a different manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* where it runs as follows :– तत्सुतोऽग्निमित्राष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपाः [2] i. e. the son Agnimitra will be king for 8 years, though here also नृपाः is wrongly given in the plural. In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* on the other hand, the reading is अग्निमित्रो नृपश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः।[3]

This passage thus clearly indicates that अष्टौ does not stand for eight sons but it connotes 8 years (अष्टौ समाः). The only defect in the passage is that the first नृप should have been सुत and this would have made it all the more clear. But even then it is quite clear that Pushyamitra was not ruling simultaneously along with his 8 sons Agnimitra was the only son who was ruling in Vidiśā as viceroy and none else Further, nowhere it is mentioned that Pushyamitra had 8 sons and hence to hold that he was ruling along with his 8 sons is highly conjectural and at the same time doubtful

3. *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by Pargiter, p. 31, foot note 10.
2. *Ibid.*
1. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER V

Agnimitra, son and successor of king Pushyamitra

Pushyamitra Śuṅga after a successful rule of 36 years, was succeeded by his son Agnimitra in the year 151 B. C. During the life time of his father, Agnimitra was already a governor of Vidiśā[1] and in that capacity he had to fight with the king of Vidarbha for the territorial expansion of his father's kingdom and ultimately he became victorious and as a result thereof, the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided into two parts. One part was added to Pushyamitra's kingdom and the other was left to king Yajñasena in a feudatory capacity.

For how many years Agnimitra remained as governor of Vidiśā, we do not know, but this much is certain that after the death of his father Pushyamitra, he ruled for only 8 years in an independent capacity. This is based on the statement of the Purāṇas which say :—

> पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धृत्य स बृहद्रथम् कारयिष्यति वै राज्यम्
> षट्त्रिंशतिसमा नृपः अग्निमित्रः सुतश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः ।[2]

i.e. to say, that Senānī Pushyamitra, after having killed his Mauryan royal master Bṛihadratha, ruled for 36 years, his son Agnimitra will then rule the earth for 8 years. This period of his rule was in an idependent capacity

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1. अत्रभवान् विदिशेश्वरः सम्प्राप्तः (*Mālavikāgnimitram* ed. by M. R. Kale, 1st Edition, Act IV, p. 67)
2. Vide : *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by Pargiter

The relationship between Agnimitra of the Purāṇas and Agnimitra of the coins.

There is a divergence of opinion among scholars as to the problem whether Agnimitra of the Purāṇas was the same person as Agnimitra of the coins? According to Cunningham,[1] Agnimitra of the coins was different from Agnimitra (Śuṅga) of the Purāṇas, but according to Jayaswal[2] and Rivett Carnacc,[3] Agnimitra of the coins was the same as Agnimitra (Śuṅga) of the Purāṇas. This problem of identification has been dealt with exhaustively in the sub-section 'Did the Śuṅgas issue coins,'[4] and as such this is not being discussed here.

Agnimitra as a ruler and as a man

The mighty fabric reared by the genius of Pushyamitra began to crumble down just after his death because his successors became luxurious and peace loving and, therefore, neglected the administration of the kingdom. The signs of decay began just with Agnimitra himself. He was a luxurious type of man and had become unmindful of his administrative affairs. He, therefore, practically neglected the administration of his vast empire reared by his father. When he was the governor of Vidiśā, he was being helped by a 'Council of ministers'[5] in his administrative works. These ministers were often consulted on important administrative matters. The military department

1. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79.
2. *J B. O. R. S.* 1917, p 479 also cf. *J. B. O. R. S.* 1934, p. 7.
3. *J. A. S. B.* 1880, 21 ft & 87 ft, *Indian Antiquary* 1880, p. 311.
4. Supra, chap. VII.
5. *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* ed. by M. R. Kale, 1st edition 1918, p. 103.

during the time of Agnimitra was under the charge of some minister. They used to issue orders to the Military Chiefs for getting ready for any impending danger, e. g. war etc. At the time when Agnimitra wanted to declare war against the king of Vidarbha, he asked his minister in charge of the Military to give his order in writing to the Chief of the Military, Virasena to make preparations for the war.

We have thus seen that Agnimitra when he was a mere governor, was being helped by a Council of ministers. Now the question arises as to whether he was keeping ministers to help him in the administrative matters when he himself became the king after the death of his father Nothing, however, is clear on this point but it is just possible that he must have continued to maintain the Council of ministers when he was himself the king, because he devoted much of his time in other things other than the administrative works. He indulged much in love affairs as will appear from the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, a drama by Kālidāsa. From *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, it is revealed that Agnimitra had fallen in love with Mālvikā, sister of prince Mādhavasena and a relative of the king of Vidarbha whom he had defeated. He used to keep himself so much engrossed in such affairs that he was even ignorant of the Greek attacks on Vasumitra (the son of Agnimitra) for the Sacrificial Horse which had been let loose by Pushyamitra to roam unchallenged, in order that he may perform the Aśvamedha Sacrifice, an insignia of absolute sovereignty. Pushyamitra had to inform Agnimitra about the Horse Sacrifice through a letter by sending a special messenger inviting him to attend the Sacrifice. Thus it appears from the above facts that Agnimitra was quite unmindful of the administration of his kingdom, so much so that he even

did not know such a great event which took place in the heart of his kingdom. That he was quite unmindful of the affairs of his kingdom, can very well be derived from the following lines of the *Mālavıkāgnimitraṁ*. Agnimitra says,

सर्वान्तःपुरवनिताव्यापारप्रतिनिवृत्तहृदयस्य,
सा वामलोचना मे स्नेहस्यैकायनी भूता ।[1]

i. e. that fair eyed one has become the only object of my affection, my heart being averse to all the other beauties of my harem He had really indulged himself so much in love making that he also lost his life for this sake. Once he had gone to Bhadrāyaka country where he fell in love with a beautiful girl and in his love dealings he had to fight with a Brāhamaṇa Vishṇu (Sharmā ?) by name and ultimately he was killed by him in the fight.[2] That he indulged too much ın love making affairs can very well be determined by a statement of Agnimitra himself in the *Mālavikāgnımıtram*. Agnimitra says,

दाक्षिण्यं नाम बिम्बोष्ठि बैम्बिकानां कुलव्रतम् ।
तन्मे दीर्घाक्षि ये प्राणास्ते त्वदाशानिबन्धनाः ।[3]

Here he points to Mālvikā, the attitude of a lover towards his beloved. He says to her in such a manner as if he was a professional lover. Further, Agnimitra had a number of wives, eg. Dhāriṇī, Irāvati and Mālvikā All these would naturally show that he was a romantic man and a gallant Lover

Agnımıtra and the kıng of Vıdarbha

Vidarbha or Berar was an independent kingdom during Pushyamitra's rule. According to *Mālavıkāgnimitraṁ* it was a newly established kingdom and so its

1. Act II. verse 14. p. 36.
2. *Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gārgī Saṁhıtā* ed. by D. R. Mankad, 1951 pp. 39–40, verses 154–157
3. Act IV, Verse 14 ed by M. R. Kale, 1st edıtıon, p. 80.

stability has been compared to that of a tree which is newly planted and can easily be uprooted.[1] Yajñasena was the king of Vidarbha. In the *Mālavıkāgnimitram* he is taken to be as a natural enemy of Agnimitra.[2] It is said there in that when Prince Mādhavasena, who was a relation of Yajñasena, was perhaps secretly coming to Vidiśā in the court of Agnimitra for entering into a matrimonial alliance with him, on the way was attacked by the frontier Guard of the king of Vıdarbha and was taken as prisoner. This act of the king of Vidarbha highly enraged Agnimitra, the governor of Vidiśā, who at once demanded the release of Mādhavasena.[3] But instead of releasing Mādhavasena, the Vidarbha king first demanded the release of his brother-in-law, a Mauryan minister from Agnimitra.[4] This enraged Agnımitra all the more and so he ordered Vīrasena, the chief of the army to completely uproot Yajñasena[5] On getting the order Vīrasena declared war with the Vıdarbha king. The scene of battle is very amusingly described ın the *Mālavıkāgnımıtraṁ*,[6] thus—

परभृतकलव्याहारेषु त्वमात्तरतिर्मधु, नयसि विदिशातीरोद्यानेष्वनङ्ग इवाङ्गवान्।
विजयकरिणामालानत्वं गतैः प्रबलस्य ते वरद वरदारोधो वृक्षैः सहावनतो रिपुः ॥

After a great fight Yajñasena was defeated and prınce Mādhavasena was released from the captivity

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1 अचिराधिष्ठितराज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिस्वरूढमूलत्वात्
नवसंरोपणशिथिलस्तरुरिव सुकरः समुद्धर्तुम् (Vıde Act I. 8.)
2. वाहतकः—प्रकृत्यमित्रः प्रतिकूलकारी च मे वैदर्भः।
(Act. I, p. 11. para 6.)
3. *Mūlavikāgnimıtraṁ* Act I, p. 10, Ed by M. R. Kale 1st edıtıon 1918.
4. मौर्यसचिव विमुञ्चति यदि पूज्यः संयत मम श्यालम्।
मोक्ता माधवसेनं ततोऽहमपि बन्धनात्सद्यः ॥
(Act I. 7.)
5. तथातव्यपक्षे स्थितस्य पूर्वसंकल्पित-
समुन्मूलनाय वीरसेनप्रमुखं दण्डचक्रमाज्ञापय (Act I, p. II.)
6. Act V–1. page, 91.

and as a token of royalty, king Agnimitra received costly jewels and vehicles and a large number of slave girls.[1] The kingdom of Vidarbha was then divided between Yajñasena and his relation Mādhavasena and the river Varadā formed the boundary line between the two states.[2] The divided states of Vidarbha then lived in mutual peace owing allegiance to king Agnimitra.[3]

1. वशीकृतः किल वीरसेनप्रमुखैर्भर्तुर्विजयदण्डैर्विदर्भनाथ. । मोचितश्चास्य दायादो माधवसेनः । दूतश्च तेन महासाराणि रत्नवाहनानि शिल्पकारिका-भूयिष्ठं परिजनं चोपायनीकृत्य भर्तुः सकाशं प्रेषितः श्वः किल भर्तारं पश्यतीति । (Vide Act 5. p. 90)
2. तौ पृथग्वरदाकूले शिष्टामुत्तरदक्षिणे, नक्तदिवं विभज्योभौ शीतोष्ण-किरणाविव (Act V. verse 13.)
3. Act V, verse 14. p. 103.

CHAPTER VI

Successors of Agnimitra

We have already seen that Agnimitra lost his life in love affairs at Bhadrāyaka country after he ruled for about 8 years. His reign came to an end in the year 143 B. C. (151 B. C. – 8 = 143 B.C.). Now who was his real successor after his death, is not clearly known, but as the Purāṇas mention the name of Sujyeṣṭha[1] just after the reign of Agnimitra, it may be that Sujyeṣṭha might have succeeded him. The relation between Sujyeṣṭha and Agnimitra, however, is not known. Purāṇas are quite silent about it. Probably Sujyeṣṭha was a brother of Agnimitra but we can not

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1. There are various readings of the name of Sujyeṣṭha in the different manuscripts of the Purānas. According to the one version of the *Matsya Purāṇa* manuscript, the reading is Vasujyeṣṭha (Vide : *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by Pargiter, page 31, foot note 11), but according, to the gj *Matsya Purāna* manuscript, the name is spelt as वसुश्रेष्ठ (vide . Ibid) ; according to the cc *Matsya Purāna* manuscript the name is read as 'असुरज्येष्ठ , but according to the a^2 a^4 fkm Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāna manuscript, also Bhāgavata Purāṇa, b Vishnu Purāna and b *Matsya Purāṇa* manuscript, the name of the king who flourished after Agnimitra was Sujyesṭha or Sujesṭa (vide Ibid, foot note 11 & 12), According to K *Vishṇu Purāṇa* manuscript, however. Agnimitra's successor was Jyeṣṭha. In the author's opinion Iyesṭha is probably a mistake for Sujyeṣṭha. Thus we find that the majority of the Purānas speak the name as Sujyeṣṭha and when there are various readings the majority view may be accepted Hence the name Sujyeṣṭha, which occurs in a good many of the Purāṇa manuscripts, should thus be considered as the right name of the king. Scholars have tried to identify Sujyeṣṭha with Jeṭhamitra of the coins but their identification is rather faulty as has been discussed by the author in the section 'Did the Śuṅgas issue coins' (Vide :chap. VII).

be quite sure of it. But in any case, Sujyeṣṭha must be a Śuṅga king as his name has been mentioned by the Purāṇas in association with the Śuṅga kings. According to the Purāṇas Sujyeṣṭha ruled for 7 years after which he was succeeded in 136 B.C. by Vasumitra who was most probably his nephew.[1]

Vasumitra

The early history of Vasumitra has already been discussed During the time of his grandfather, Pushyamitra Śuṅga, Vasumitra had been made in charge of the Sacrifical Horse [2] This suggests that he must be old enough to be put in charge of such a significant event The Purāṇas have assigned a very small period of rule to him, the period being only of 10 years [3] The reason for such a small period of reign is, however, not far to seek

Though Vasumitra had become quite grown up even during the life time of his father and grandfather, he seems to have ascended the throne very late. Just after the death of Agnimitra, he probably did not succeed him immediately as in the genealogical table of Śuṅga kings, Sujyeṣṭha is mentioned earlier than him. This may suggest that he ascended the throne later than Sujyeṣṭha who ruled for 7 years Vasumitra, therefore, must have ascended the throne in his old days and that is why he could reign only for a short time. His reign of 10 years came to an end in the year 126 B. C.

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1. अग्निमित्रः सुतश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः ।
   भविता चापि सुज्येष्ठः सप्त वर्षाणि वै ततः ॥
   (vide : *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by F. E. Pargiter, p. 31.)
2. Vide : *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* by Kālidāsa.
3. वसुमित्रः सुतो भाव्यो दश वर्षाणि पार्थिवः (vide . *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynastis of the Kali Age*, by Pargiter, p. 31.)

If the tradition as recorded in the *Harṣacharita* by Bāṇa is to be believed then Vasumitra, who was also known as Sumitra,[1] being overfond of drama was killed by one Mitradeva in midst of actors with the help of a sword which severed Sumitra's head into two like a lotus stalk.[2] Now the question arises, who was this Mitradeva who killed Vasumitra alias Sumitra ? Was he a ruling king of some territory and a rival of Vasumitra ? The answer is in the negative. Mitradeva was probably not a king as nowhere, either in the inscriptions or in literature, he is mentioned as a king. Moreover, we have also not discovered any coin which may be attributed to him. Therefore, he might be an agent of someone who employed him to kıll Vasumitra (or Sumitra) for some reason or the other The person who might have engaged Mitradeva for killing Vasumitıa, would be no one else than his own near ones who wanted to ascend the throne earlier. And to achieve this end he might have contrived a plan so as to put an end to the lıfe of the ruling king. But all these are mere suggestions and nothing else and hence they might or might not be true.

Vasumıtra, according to the *Purāṇas* was succeeded by his son Āndhraka, whose name has got a great varıation. "*Vāyu Purāṇa* generally gives the name as Andhrakaḥ; while K *Matsya Purāṇa* manuscript and a[3] *Vāyu Purāṇa* manuscript give the name as Andhakaḥ; four manuscripts of c *Vāyu Purāṇa* speak as Dhrukaḥ; fm. *Vāyu Purāṇa* give the name as Dhrakaḥ; two

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1 d *Matsya Purāṇa* manuscrıpt gıve the name as Sumıtra (vıde : *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynastıes of the Kali Age* by Pargıter and thıs ıs also corroborated by *Harṣacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

2. अतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैलूषमध्यमध्यास्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमि- वालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेवः।
(*Harṣacharita* by Bāṇa Ed by P. V. Kane, p. 50)

manuscripts of c *Vāyu Purāṇa* as Vṛkaḥ; *Matsya Purāṇa* generally gives the name as Antakaḥ; emt as Ṭaka; Imt as Nukaḥ; l *Matsya Purāṇa* manuscript as Ṣṭakaḥ; *Vishṇu Purāṇa* generally mentions him by the name Āndhraka; bh *Vishṇu Purāṇa* gives Odruka; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* gives the name as Bhadraḥ: e *Vāyu Purāṇa* manuscript as Madraḥ; and lastly the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives the name as Bhadraka."[1] Now in midst of such a great variation of names, we have to choose a correct one but to arrive at a correct name is rather a difficult task. Jasyawal[2] has identified Odruka of bh *Vishṇu Purāṇa* manuscript with that of Udāka mentioned in the Pabhosā inscription,[3] found at Kośam (Kauśāmbī near Allahabad) The inscription records the dedication of a Cave by Asādhasena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopālī in the 10th year of Udāka for the use of the Kassapiya Arhats. This Udāka was probably the same as Odruka of the bh *Vishṇu Purāṇa* manuscript and Jayaswal has rightly identified the two names as one and the same person. Odruka, therefore, appears to be the correct name of the king who succeeded Vasumitra Now, if such would be the fact then Odraka or Odruka must be the ruling king oi in a way the overlord of the area where the inscription was engraved. Thus Pabhosā, the ancient kingdom of Kauśāmbī was under the suzeiainty of the Śuṅgas at this period and that Asādhasena and his family must be ruling there in a feudatory capacity In this connection,

1. Vide : *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by Pargiter, p 31, foot note 18.
2. *JBORS*, Vol III, 1917, pp. 473–5.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp, 242-43 ; Luders list of Brâhmi Inscriptions No. 904–5. in *Epigraphia Indica*, (Vol. X. appendix) also Cf. *Select inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 97 by D. C. Sirkar.

Rapson writes "The donor of the Caves at Pabhosā traces his descent from the kings of Ahichhatra, the northern capital of the Pāñchālas in the Bareily district and the inscription gives the genealogy of his family for five generations beginning with his great grand father 'Sonakāyana' and ending with his nephew, Bahasatimitra. The line is carried two stages further by the Mora inscription which describes the daughter of Bahasatimitra as the wife of the king of Mathurā and the mother of living sons. In the patronymic, 'Sonakāyana, the scion of the house of Sonaka, we may perhaps see an allusion to the glories of Pāñchāla in the heroic age, when as is recounted in one of the ancient Verses preserved by the *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa*, king Sonasatrasaha celebrated his triumphs by the performance of the Horse Sacrifice. Coins found in the neighbourhood of Ahichhatra, now a vast mound (near village Rāmanagar) have preserved the names of about a dozen of their successors in the Śuṅga period ....we may infer from the inscription at Pabhosā that in the 2nd century B C. Pāñchāla (Ahichhatra) and Vatsa (Kauśāmbī) were governed by the branches of the same royal family and that both kingdoms acknowledged the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas."[1]

If king Udāka (i e. Odraka) of the Pabhosā inscription was the same as king Odruka of the Purāṇas,[2] then there will be an error in their regnal periods which according to the Pabhosā inscription are 10 years but according to the Purānas either 2 or 7 years Now

1. *CHI* by Rapson, Vol I, p 525.
2. Marshall (vide . *A guide to Sāñchi*, p, 11n) on the other hand has identified Odraka of the *Purāṇas* with king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra mentioned in the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription. His theory, however, lacks positive evidence and hence his identification is not acceptable.

keeping in view of the disparity in the statement of the Purāṇas about the regnal periods of the kings, we should prefer the evidence of the Pabhosā inscription. We may, therefore, say that Odruka at least ruled for 10 years and that the Pabhosā inscription was engraved in the 10th year of his rule. After ruling thus for about 10 years his reign came to an end in the year 116 B. C.

Odruka, according to the Purāṇas[1] was succeeded by king Pulindaka. His name also has got a great variation. Pulindaka is the name given generally by the *Matsya Purāṇa,* but in a good many versions of the *Matsya Purāṇa* manuscript, his name is spelt differently. Thus for example, "Matsya manuscript gives Pulandakaḥ; m *Matsya manuscript* on the other hand gives the name as Nunandanaḥ; j *Matsya manuscript* spells the name as Madhunan; fg *Matsya Purāṇa* gives the reading as Marunaṁ; d *Matsya Purāṇa* as Madhunandakaḥ"[2] Among these names Pulindakaḥ or Pulandakaḥ is generally taken to be as correct but no reason is put forth for this. We have also not got any coin which may be attributed to Pulindakaḥ in order to justify the name as correct. According to the *Purāṇas* Pulindaka ruled for 3 years after which he was succeeded by his son Ghoṣa in the year 113 B. C.

Ghoṣa

Ghoṣa, the son and the successor of king Pulindaka ascended the throne in the year 113 B. C. His name also has got a few variations,[3] but most of

1. Vide : *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,* by Pargiter p. 23
2. *Ibid,* foot note 28.
3. Vide : *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,* by Pargiter, p. 32 foot note 31. The *Matsya Purāṇa* manuscript gives the name as Yomekha where as j

the *Purāṇas* spell the name as Ghoṣa,[1] and hence Ghoṣa was probably the correct name of the king. He ruled for a period of only 3 years. Nothing more than this is known about this king. His rule, therefore, according to the chronological order of the Śuṅga Kings, came to an end in the year 110 B. C.

King Ghoṣa was succeeded on throne by king Vajramitra. The relationship between king Vajramitra and Ghoṣa is not known Vajramitra ruled for about 9 years. His period of rule is somewhat longer than that of the previous two kings. He, therefore, may be thought of as an important king, but unfortunately his activities as king are not known. His rule came to an end in the year 101 B C He was succeeded on the throne by King Bhāgavata, the last but one Śuṅga king

Bhāgavata

King Bhāgavata ascended the throne in the year 101 B C after Vajramitra, the 8th Śuṅga king who ruled for 9 years The name of this king Bhāgavata has got a different reading in the *Matsya Purāṇa* manuscript. According to the *Matsya Purāṅa* thus, his name is read as Samābhāga, but here in the context of the original passage[1] as given in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, it should be pointed out that the word समा which really stands for 'Years' has been wrongly mixed with

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Matsya Purāṇa manuscript gives the reading Momeghas. A few other manuscripts give some other name but most of the *Purānas* give the name as Ghoṣa.

1. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* generally gives Ghoṣa, also *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; *Brahmāṇḍa & Vāyu Purāṇa* also give the name as Ghoṣa but *Vishnu Purāna* manuscripts give the name as Ghaṣavasu. The author thinks Ghaṣavasu might be the long form of Ghoṣa and Ghoṣa was probably the short from of Ghoṣavasu.

'Bhāga', the name of the king. Though the actual name of the king was Bhāgavata as is found in the '*Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Vishṇu, & Bhāgavata Purāṇa*' but if we exculde समा from Bhāga for the reason that समा connotes years, then the name of the king remains only as Bhāga. But this Bhāga might be the short form of the bigger name Bhāgavata,

King Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas has been identified with king Bhāgavata of the Bhilsa column which is dated in the 12th year of the king.[2] This Bhilsā column is different from the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription of Heliodorus[3] which is dated in the 14th regnal year of king Bhāgabhadra. Most probably king Bhāgavata of the Bhilsā column and king Bhāgabhadra of the Heliodorus pillar inscription of Besnagar is one and the same king, because if both the kings are taken to be different personalities, then it would be rather difficult to explain how in one particular region two independent kings were ruling simultaneously. Hence in the fitness of things both appear to be one and the same king. In that case king Bhāgavata of the *Purāṇas* and Bhāgavata of the Bhilsā column and king Bhāgabhadra of the Garuḍa pillar inscription of Heliodorus would be one and the same king. On the basis of the Besnagar pillar inscription which is dated in the 14th year of king Bhāgabhadra (i e Bhāgavata) it can thus safely be said that king Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas must have ruled at least for 14 years, though the Purāṇas have assigned to him a reign of 32 years. But this statement of the Purāṇas is not corroborated

1. द्वात्रिंशत्तु समाभागः समाभागात् ततो नृपः ।—Here समा should have been attached with द्वात्रिंशत् instead of to भाग ।
2. Vide : *A. S. I. A. R*, 1913–14. p. 190 ; also cf. *J. R. A S.* 1919, p. 396 ; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1920. No. 5, p. 152.
3. Vide : *Select Inscriptians* Vol. I. By D. C. Sirkar.

by any other evidence King Bhāgavata may have ruled for 32 years or not but on the basis of the recorded inscription, this much is rather certain that he ruled at least for 14 years. His 14 years of rule would end in the year 87 B C. From the Besnagar pillar inscription it appears that king Bhāgabhadra (i e. Bhāgavata) was a contemporary to the Greek king Antialcidas because in the 14 th year of his reign, the Greek king Antialcidas had sent an ambassodor Heliodorus to his court. The date of king Antialcidas according to the classical writers, falls roughly in the year 90 B C and hence king Bhāgabhadra and Antialcidas were both contemporary

The Bhilsā column and the Besnagar pillar inscription both were created in honour of Vāsudeva (i. e in honour of the Bhāgavata religion symbolized either by Krishṇa or Vishnu) Hence the king Bhāgavata in whose reign and territory these columns were erected must himself be a worshipper of Vāsudeva–Vishṇu or in a way a supporter of the Bhāgavata religion.

On the authority of the Bhilsā column it may be said that the name of the mother of the king Bhāgavata was Gautamī. An important fact which is revealed from these two columns is that during the rule of the later Śuṅgas, the capital of the king most probably was shifted to the Vidiśā region from Pāṭaliputra, though Pāṭaliputra also might be under their control

King Bhāgavata was succeeded by his son Devabhūmi. He ruled for 10 years but his rule must have been an unsuccessful one. He was more or less like king Agnimitra Śuṅga who over indulged himself in the enjoyment of wordly pleasures of life and altogether neglected the affairs of his kingdom. Devabhūmi was so morally degraded a king that he could even

accept the daughter of his slave woman as his queen, who later on became the cause of his death also at the instance of his minister Vasudeva The original passage of *Harshacharita* from which this aspect of the life of Devabhūmi[1] is reflected, is as follows:

अतिस्त्रीसंगरतमनङ्गपरवशं शुङ्गममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभूति-
दासीदुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत् ॥[2]

Devabhūmi as it appears from the above passage, indulged too much in the enjoyment of woman and as a result thereof, he must have neglected the affairs of his kingdom, so much so that his minister Vasudeva taking undue advantage out of the carelessness of the king, became so powerful that he even had the courage to get the king murdered by the daughter of the slave woman of the king as already observed and even declared himself as the king Devabhūmi may, therefore, be considered to be a most degraded king among the Śuṅgas :

According to the *Purāṇas* Devabhūmi ruled for about 10 years. His rule, therefore, came to an end in the year 77 B. C. (87 B C.–10 yr.=77 B C.) and after his death the Śuṅga dynasty also came to an end, at least in Magadha. His minister Vasudeva, who was a Kaṇva, then became the master of Magadha.

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1. In the passage occuring in *Harshacharita*, the name of the Śuṅga king is given as Devabhūti and not Devabhūmi but since in the Purāṇas the name is Devabhūmi, hence Devabhūti of *Harshacharita* would be no other than Devabhūmi.
2. *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa edited by P. V. Kane., p. 50. 1912.

CHAPTER VII

(1) *Did the Śuṅgas issue coins ?*

It is quite natural to expect that the Śuṅgas, who usurped the throne of the Mauryas, might have issued coins following their predecessors, who had a well organised system of state coinage as revealed by Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.[1] A number of scholars[2] have tried to find out the coins that might have been issued by the Śuṅga rulers, and in their efforts they have attributed to them certain coins which are known to have been issued from various important centres of ancient India like Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Avantī, Ahichhatra, and have names similar to those of the Śuṅgas But, in doing so, they have misinterpreted the legends on the coins and have ignored such facts which are otherwise cogent for an enquiry of this nature.

We do not have any coin of the Maurya kings which is inscribed The coins that are attributed to the Mauryan period are either punch-marked or die-struck uninscribed coins. The Śuṅgas had, therefore, no precedence of inscribed coins before them to copy.

The earliest known inscribed coins are no doubt of the second century B C., but they belong either to cities or tribes. They were followed with the coins that have names of rulers along with the name of the city or the tribe. And only in the third stage we

1. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra,* trans by R. Shāmśāstrī (3rd. edition) Book ii Ch. XII. pp, 86–87 ; Ch. V, p56 ; Book IV, Ch, IV, p 238.
2. *JBORS,* XX, 1934, pp. 7–9 & pp. 291–306 ; *Indian Culture* Vol. V, p. 208 ; *Proceedings and transactions of the third Oriental Conference,* p. 410 , *JNSI,* Vol. II, p, 115, Plate XA No 6 ; *JBRS,* Vol XXXV, p. 47.

have the names of rulers alone on the coins. But by the time this stage had come the Imperial Śuṅgas vanished from the scene. So it scens unlikely that they had any contemporary model to follow in the matter of their coins. If the Śuṅgas had their own coins we should expect at least some of them from their own territories, i. e. Magadha and Vidiśā But none of the coins so far attributed to them are known from these areas.

The coins that are attributed to the Śuṅga rulers are picks from such uniform series which have a long list of names suggesting thereby that they belong either to one dynasty or to one locality. Any coin from them can not be isolated for identification with one or the other Śuṅga ruler, just for similarity of names.

The Palaeography of the coins attributed to the Śuṅgas has been overlooked. Many of them should be assigned to the post-Christian era, while the Śuṅgas flourished in pre-Christian times.

All this makes it highy doubtful that we possess any coin which could be safely attributed to any Śuṅga ruler with any amount of certitude. But it would be worthwhile to examine critically the material that has come to us on the subject

Coin of Sungarāja

On a coin published in *JBORS* (Vol. XX. Plate II Coin no. 2 facing page 291), Dr. Jayaswal reads the legend as 'Sugarājasa', and suggests that it was issued by the first Śuṅga king in the name of his dynasty.[1] But a close scrutiny of the coin shows that he had not read the legend correctly The first letter on the coin definitely stands for 'a' but he mistook it

1. *JBORS*, XX, 1934, p. 295.

to be 'su'. The correct legend on the coin is 'Agarājasa.' Two similar coins, published by Dr A. S. Altekar, have the clear legend 'Agarājasa'.[1] The coin thus belong to a king 'AGARĀJA' and not to the Śuṅga dynasty.

Coins of Pushyamitra

Certain coins are attributed to Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the founder of the dynasty and it is suggested that they were issued in his personal name.

(1) Dr Jayaswal reads on the coins published in V Smith's *I M C.* (p. 205, Plate XXIII 6.) a legend Gomi on the obverse and shyamitasa on the reverse and says that it was a restruck coin[2] Further he reads the last right hand mark on the obverse as Pu and argues, 'If the last right hand mark on the obverse is Pu, probably it meant to complete shyamitasa of the other side'[3] To him the legend 'Gomi' is of special importance, as it explains the nickname found in the *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* for Pushyamitra. While the two letters on the obverse (the reverse of Smith's)[4] have been correctly read by him as Gomi, it is difficult to accept that the last mark on the extreme right of this side is pu. It may be 'pa' but never 'pu' as there is no sign for medial U below the curve of the letter pa.

It is still more difficult to accept his reading on the otherside, where there are only three letters 'mitasa'. A close scrutiny of the Coin failed to reveal any letter preceeding 'mi.' Thus even if we accept Dr Jayaswal's suggestion that the right hand mark towards the end

1. *JNSI*, IV, Part II, p. 138, Pl. XII, No. 10-11 ; Pl. I. No. 17, facing page 2.
2 *JBORS*. XX, 1934, p. 294.
3 *Ibid*, XX, 1934, p. 293.
4 *IMC*, Vol I, Pl. XXIII, 6. p 205.

on the obverse was meant to complete the legend on the other side, we would have at the most, the word Pamitasa. But there is no reason why Pamita should be identified with Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Again, there is nothing for the identification of Pushyamitra with Gomi of the Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa[1] just on the basis of the presence of the word Gomi, on the coin. If Gomi, on the coin be the Prākrit form of Gaulmika, it can only mean the leader of a Gulma i e. a small unit of the army; and it can not be an appropriate title for Pushyamitra, who was a Senāpati i e Commander-in-chief Thus, there is little to show that it was the coin of Pushyamitra Śunga.

(2) A cast coin[2] discovered at Avanti, has on the obverse, according to Dr. Jayaswal, a 'Bull, with the letter pu at right hand corner below the mouth of the bull and the legend 'shamita' on the reverse But a close examination of the coin shows that there is no letter on the obverse. What has been taken to be pu is merely an insignificant line. The last two letters mita on the reverse have been correctly read but what he takes to be the first letter as sa is really two letters 'ruṇa' and Vincent Smith has correctly read them as such.[3] Similar coins[4] with the clear legend Varuṇamita have been lately found, which support the reading 'ruṇamita' on this coin and suggest that the coin belonged to a king Varunamitra; although the first letter 'Va' of his name, however, is missing on the coin under discussion

(3) On the coin which was found at Uddehika and is published in the *J. R.A. S*, 1900 (Pl facing page 97

1. Jayaswal's *An Imperial History of India*, Text, p. 38.
2. *IMC*, Pl XX, No 3, p. 154.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. I, Pl. XX. 3. p. 154 (No. 27.)
4. *JNSI*, IV, p. 6, Pl. I, 5; V, p. 17, Pl. IIB, and VIII, p. 16.

no. 2), Dr. Jayaswal reads the legend as Pushyami-(ta) (sa).[1] Earlier Prof. Rapson had read on it Suyami (tasa). The letter sa is a little indistinct and may be read as pu but the second letter is clearly ya to which no sha is attached to make it shya. The third letter may be read as 'ma' but it is almost indistinct. Therefore the reading of the legend can be either Puyama or Suyama. Most probably, it is Suyama, with left arm of sa being indistinct. In that case the coin would probably belong to Suryamitra. But even assuming that the correct reading is Puyama, the coin can not be attributed to Pushyamitra, as there is no reason to identify Puyama with Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

(4) On a coin of the Kauśāmbī series, the legend is read as Pushami by Dr. Jayaswal and it is attributed to Pushyamitra.[2] But several coins of the same type are known which have the clear legend Pushvaśrīyaḥ,[3] and not Pushami, and belong to 'Pushyaśrī' and not to Pushyamitra. These coins are much later in date belonging to 1st–2nd century A D. and are similar to the coins of Magha kings.

(5) It has been suggested by Prof. S. V. Veṅkateśvara, that during the second century B C. one way of naming persons was to select a name after the Asterism under which he was born or after its presiding Deity.[4] Persuing this line of argument he synchronises various names on the coins with the names of the kings referred to in the *Purāṇas* A few of them belong to the Śuṅga dynasty also Since the Pushya Nakshatra has Bṛhaspati as its 'Devatā', he suggests that the names

1. *JBORS*, XX, 1934, p. 303.
2. *JBORS*, XX, Pl. II, No. 1, facing page 291.
3. *JNSI*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, 1942, p. 136, Pl. XII, No. 2 to 5.
4. *Proceedings & Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference*, p 410.

Pushyamitra and Brihaspatimitra stand for one and the same person. Again Indra is the deity of Jyeshṭha, so according to him Jyeshṭha of the Pauraṇic list was the same as Indramitra of the coins.

It is true that kings in ancient times were sometimes named after their presiding Deity, but there is no evidence to show that they were called by two or more names and that they issued their coins under different names. We have coins in the name of Jyeshṭhamitra[1] as well as Indramitra It is inexplicable as to why a king should issue coins under two different names That Jyeshṭhamitra and Indramitra of the coins were two different kings is more plausible So Prof Veṅkateśvara's suggestion that the coins of Brihaspatimitra were issued by Pushyamitra need not be taken seriously.

Coins of the son of Pushyamitra

On a coin illustrated in *IMC* (Plate XXIII, no. 8) Dr. Jayaswal reads the reverse legend as Kum (a) rasa at the top and Jayasabhis (o) from right to left at the bottom, and attributes its issue to one of the sons of Pushyamitra He says that Bhiso means 'Bull' and shows its relations with the Śuṅgas (like Gomi on the coin that we have discussed earlier) But there is no evidence to take 'Bull' as the Śuṅga insignia; and even if Dr. Jayaswal's reading of the word 'Bhiso', be taken as correct, we can not attribute the coin to any Śuṅga ruler. The word Bhisa or Bhiso does not mean a 'bull', as the Prākrit form of Vrishabha (which means a bull) would be either Usabha or Vasabha and not Bhiso However, the legend at the bottom of the coin does not allow being read as Jayasabhiso. The only clear letter is Ja at the extreme right end of the coin, [2] the

1. *JNSI*, Vol. IV, Pt II, 1942, pp. 141–42.
2. *IMC*, Vol. I, Pl. XXIII, 8

other lettrs are blurred and can not be read with any amount of certitude.

Coins of Agnimitra

Some coins of the Kauśāmbī and the Pāñchāla series, are, in the opinion of Dr. Jayaswal, the issues of the Śuṅga king Agnimitra, the son and the successor of Pushyamitra.[1] No doubt some of the coins of the series bear the name Agnimitra, but in admitting them as the issues of Agnimitra Śuṅga, there are unsurmountable difficulties

The Kauśāmbī and the Pāñchāla series consist respectively of coins of no less than nine and thirteen kings who have issued coins of a uniform type. We can not isolate the coins of Agnimitra from the rest unless we presume that all the rulers issuing these series were the Śuṅgas for which we have no evidence.

Further these coins cannot in any way be placed in the middle of the 2nd century B C, when the Śuṅgas flourished. The semi-circular form of the letter gi, the angular form of mi and serif at the top of the letters ta and sa of the legends of these coins clearly show that they are of a much later date. Again, we have no evidence to show that Kauśāmbī and Pāñchāla, where these coins were found, did ever form part of the kingdom of Agnimitra

Coins of Sumitra

Dr. Jayaswal attributed the following coins to Sumitra alias Vasumitra,[2] the son of Agnimitra

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1. *JBORS*, XX, p. 295, Pl. II, 3, facing page 291.
2. Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra was also known as Sumitra in one of the versions of the *Purāna* manuscripts. Cf *Pargiter's 'The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age'*, p. 31, foot note; also Cf. Harshacharita, ed. by Kane, 1st edition 1912, p. 50.

(1) A silver coin[1] which was once attributed by Dr. Jayaswal to Agnimitra,[2] was later assigned to Sumitra.[3] His reading 'Senāpatisa' in the first line is no doubt correct but the reading (ti) tayo in the second line at the bottom is doubtful as the letters are truncated. There is perhaps greater justification for reading it as 'Datayā' rather than '(ti) tayo.' On the reverse there are only two letters which can be read as Miti and no amount of imagination can make it Sumitrasa Even if we accept Dr Jayaswal's reading 'Senāpatisa' '(ti) tayo' on the obverse there is nothing to identify Senāpati with Pushyamitra. Pushyamitra was no doubt known as Senāpati or Senānī but this is always found coupled with his name while it is not the case here As such, we have little basis to attribute this coin to Sumitra.

(2) On the coin published in the *JBORS* XX, 1934 (coin no. 1 Pl, II, facing page 7), Dr. Jayaswal reads the legend Raño Sumitasa. But the legend is so indistinct that one can not be sure of its correct reading and so it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion.

(3) On a coin of Almora series,[4] Dr Jayaswal[5] reads the legend as Sumitasa and not 'Sivadatasa,' as read by Prof Rapson[6] He says, 'The letters mi and ta are disposed at the two opposite ends of the base of the railing hanging from the margin like the rest. These railing ends have been mistaken as parts of letters After ta we have sa Next to it is the initial su

1. *JBORS* XX, 1934, Pt. I, Pl facing p. 7, No 6
2. *Ibid*, XX, p 9
3. *Ibid*, XX, p. 301
4. *CHI*, Vol I, p. 539, Pl V, No. 17; also cf. *BMCAI*, p. 120, Pl XIV, 7.
5. *JBORS*, XX, p. 301
6. *CHI*, Vol I, p. 539, Pl. V, No. 17.

with the right arm fainter. The large space between su and mi[1] is in conformity with his Senāpati and Mathurā coins The bull intervenes between su and mi." However, a careful examination would reveal that it is rather imaginative The letter read by him as mi is really si with the lower hook slightly thickened There are two almost visible and clear letters between the so called letter mi and the letter ta, and they may be read as vada They are certainly not parts of the railing ends but are letters What he takes to be the letter su is really the part of the symbol (wavy line with a circular knob) over which the animal, probably a 'Bull' is standing. If Dr Jayaswal's reading be taken as correct, one has to explain the long gap between the so called letters su and mi. Such spacing is unknown elsewhere The legend was correctly read as 'Sivadatasa' by Prof. Rapson[2] and Mr Allan[3] and we can not take this coin to be of Sumitra. Reliance is also placed by Jayaswal on the presence of the symbol 'Bull' for identifying the coin with the issue of the Śuṅgas. According to him the 'Bull' was a Śuṅga symbol, since he found it on the coin[4] which he had assigned to Pushyamitra Śuṅga, but as shown earlier that coin is really the coin of Agarāja.

(4) A coin with the clear legend 'Vasusena' and the figure of a spirited horse found at Ahichchhatra is also attributed to Sumitra alias Vasumitra.[5] Shri Dhar,[6] who has published this coin, thinks that it commemorates

1. *JBORS*, XX, 1934, p. 301.
2. *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 539, Pl. V, No. 17.
3. *BMCAI*, Pl. XIV, 7. p. 120.
4. *JBORS*, Vol. XX, Pl. II, coin No 2, facing page 291.
5. *JNSI*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 115, Pl. XA, No. 6.
6. *Ibid.*

Vasumitra's prowess in guarding the horse of the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by his grandfather Pushyamitra Śuṅga, which is mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitram.* The suggestion is no doubt ingenious But we do not know that Vasumitra was ever known as Vasusena though he was known as Sumitra,[1] Vāyumitra,[2] etc

Coins of Odraka

The coin of Kāḍa[3] is attributed by Dr. Jayaswal[4] to the fifth Śuṅga king Odraka, mentioned in the *Purāṇas,* He takes the legend on the coin as Odrasa.[5] But, the first letter is a distinct cross representing 'Ka' with medial a at the top Cunningham has correctly read the legend as Kāḍasa Mr Allan[6] has also published a few coins of Kāḍa which leave no doubt about the legend. So there is no coin of Śuṅga Odraka

Coins of Pulindaka or Mulindaka

The Ayodhyā coin of Muladeva[7] according to Dr Jayaswal[8] belonged to the sixth Śuṅga king Pulindaka or Mulindaka [9] He read the legend as Mūlendrakasa

1. Cf Pargiter's '*The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*', p. 31. foot note, 15, Also see *Harshacharita*, p. 50.
2 *Ibid*
3. *CCAI*, Pl V, 6; *BMCAI*, XIX, 14
4 *JBORS*, XX, 1934, p. 302.
5. *Ibid*
6 *BMCAI*, Pl XIX, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20.
7. *CCAI* Pl IX, 4, *BMCAI*, XVI, 11.
8 *JBORS*, XX, 1934, p 303
9 According to one version of the *Purāna* manuscript Pulindaka is also know as Mulindaka. Cf. Pargiter's *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 32, foot note

and relies on 'bull' being a Śuṅga symbol Unfortunately the letters on the coins are blurred and it is not possible to arrive at any conclusion, but a number of coins having the same devices and belonging to the same series have the legend ending in devasa, e. g. Vāyudeva and Cunningham does not seem wrong when he read the legend as Mūladevasa. To the reading Mula Jayaswal also agrees Mr. Allan also agrees with the reading of Cunningham Thus the attribution of the coins to Śuṅga king Mulindaka or Pulindaka is at best hypothetical

Coins of Other Śuṅga Rulers.

The coins of Phalgunimitra[1] of the Pāñchāla series has been attributed to Phalgudeva of the Ayodhyā inscription by Dr Jayaswal.[2] According to the Ayodhyā inscription Phalgudeva was closely connected with the Śungas and may be placed in the sixth generation, counting from Pushyamitra Śuṅga Quite possibly, Phalgudeva belonged to the Śuṅga line, but there is no reason to identify Phalgunimitra of the coin with Phalgudeva of the inscription. It has been altogether ignored that the coins of Phalgunimitra form part of a long series from the Pāñchāla region and are altogether unknown in Kośala

Shri B Ghosh[3] read on the coins of Purushadatta and Rāmadatta[4] of the Mathurā series the legends 'Purushadatta Sugo' and 'Ramadatta Sugo' and suggested that these rulers were Śuṅgas, but unfortunately what he takes to be the letter go is really a symbol, counterbalanced by another symbol on the left side.

.1 *BMCAI*, p. 194, Pl. XXVII, 11
2. *JBORS*, XX, 1934, p. 305.
3. *Indian* Culture, Vol. IV, p. 5.
4. *IMC*, p. 192, Pl. XXII, No, 10; XXIV, 5 and 12; also cf. Cunningham's *CCAI*, p. 176, Pl. XLIV, 10.

Secondly, the so called letter go does not occur in the same line in which the legend 'Rāmadattasa' or 'Purushadattasa' is written. It is entirely separate from the legend and is very close to the symbol just below the legend on the right side. It can only be a symbol not a letter. So, there is nothing to take Rāmadatta and Purushadatta as Śuṅgas. Five coins of the 'Udumbara' series, belonging to Ajamitra, Bhānumitra, Mahimitra, Dharaghosha, and Mahādeva, have been attributed to the Śuṅga rulers by Dr. Jayaswal[1] While he does not give any reason for thinking Mahimitra as Śuṅga king, he takes Ajamitra to be Vajramitra, the eighth Śuṅga ruler and feels that the Kharoshṭhi legend Ajamitra was a misreading But he is silent about the Brāhmi legend which is distinctly Aja and not Vajra So there is nothing to take these kings (Mahimitra and Ajamitra) as Śuṅga

As pointed out by Dr. Jayaswal, there is no donbt the reference to a king Bhānumitra in the Jaina book *Paṭṭāvali-Samuchchaya*, but it is not specifically mentioned there that he belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty However, since he is placed in the order of chronology just after Pushyamitra, who came after the Maurya kings, there may be the possibility of his being one of the imperial Śuṅgas But this is by no means certain, as his name is conspicuous by its absence in the list of Śuṅga rulers given in the chapter दुषमाकाल श्री श्रमणसंघ स्तोत्र परिशिष्ट–३ (p 200) of the same book Further, the name Bhānumita does not also occur in the list of the Śuṅga rulers given in the *Purāṇas* According to them, there were only ten Śuṅga rulers[2] who are all named[3] If

1. *JBORS*, XX, pp. 295–6.
2. दशैते शुंगराजानो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् । (Vide : Pargiter's *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 33.)
3. Vide ; Pargiter's *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. pp. 31–33.

Bhānumitra and 'Balamitra'[1] are accepted as Śuṅga rulers as given in the *Paṭṭāvalı Samuchchaya*, the number of Śuṅga rulers would be increased by two, while the total reigning period for them according to the Purāṇas and the Paṭṭāvali both, is 112 years, and it is difficult to accommodate these two rulers within this period. It may further be pointed out here that the *Kālakāchārya Kathā*,[2] places, Balamitra and Bhānumitra in Broach, while the Śuṅgas rule is not known to have extended over that area Even if we assume that Bhānumitra was a Śuṅga ruler, there is no evidence other than the name to show that the coin having the name Bhānumitra could be assigned to this ruler and placed outside its series

Dharaghosha[3] of the Udumbara series according to Dr Jayaswal was an imperial Śuṅga name. But no Śuṅga ruler, either mentioned in the *Purāṇas* or elsewhere in literature or inscription, is called Dharaghosha. The seventh ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty is called Ghosha[4] in the *Purāṇas*, but how that Ghosha can be identified with Dharaghosha is not understood. The existence of the figure of a sage whom Dr. Jayaswal[5] identifies as 'Viśvāmitra,' an ancestor of the Śuṅgas is hardly an evidedce to connect it with the Śuṅgas and attribute the coin to Ghosha. If the figure was that of Viśvāmitra, which is by no means quite certain, why does it not occur on any other coin of the Śuṅgas as assigned by Dr. Jayaswal ?

Lastly, the Udumbara coin which has the legend 'Bhagavata Mahadevasa raja raña' has been attributed

1. Dr. Jayaswal regards Balamitra also to be a Śuṅga ruler.
2. Ed. by W. Norman Brown, 1933, pp. 60-61.
3. Cunningham's *Catalogue of Coins in Ancient India*, Pl. IV, 1.
4. Cf. Pargiter's *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p, 32.
5. *JBORS*, IV, 259 ; & XIV, 25.

by Dr. Jayaswal to Bhāgavata[1] the ninth Śuṅga ruler mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. But it is apparent that Bhagavata on the coin is not the name of any king, but just an epithet of king Mahādeva, as on the coins of Dharaghosha which bear the legend 'Mahadevasa raña Dharaghosasa odubaṛisa'. It may be pointed out here that the title generally follows the name of the king.[2] Besides this, there was no king in the Śuṅga dynasty known as Mahādeva; and in view of the earlier discussions the presence of the 'Bull' symbol on the coin does not make it a Śuṅga coin.

Dr. Jayaswal, then picks up the coins of Balabhūti and Brahmamitra from the Mathurā series and takes them to be Śuṅga coins The coins[3] of Balabhūti have been taken to be the issues of Balamitra, Who was a Śuṅga ruler according to Dr Jayaswal[4] Thus according to him Balabhūti, and Balamitra were identical. But it is difficult to accept this hypothesis. Balamitra is not mentioned in the list of the Śuṅga kings in the *Purāṇas* Moreover, according to the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*,[5] he as well as his brother Bhānumitra were the rulers of Broach which did not form part of the Śuṅga empire. So he can not be identified with any Suṅga King Balabhūti too, is not mentioned as a Suṅga ruler anywhere and that he was a governor of Mathurā under Pushyamitra Śuṅga, is not known to sober history.

The coins[6] of Brahmamitra according to Dr. Jayaswal[7] closely follow the symbols and arrangement

1. Cunningham's, *CCAI*, IV, 5.
2. Cf the title of almost all the Greek kings.
3. *IMC*, Vol. I, VIII, 9.
4. *JBORS*, XX, 1934, p. 298.
5. Ed. by Norman Brown, 1933, pp. 60–61.
6. *IMC*, XXIII, 5.
7. *JBORS*, XX, p. 300.

of the legend of the coin of king Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.[1] Brahmamitra, thus, according to him was a Śuṅga ruler. But it has already been pointed out that the existence of coins of Puṣyamitra is a mere myth, and as such we need not say anything about this attribution.

Tārāpada Bhaṭṭāchārya has recently made an attempt to correlate the Mitra coins of different series with those of the Śuṅga kings[2] with his own suggestions, without, howevei, examining the readings on the coins, as has been done by other scholars.

He maintains that king Agnimitra of the *Purāṇas* had eight sons who ruled at different places and they were named after the eight Vasus of Indian legends (e g eldest son was Vasujyeṣṭha i. e. Jyeṣṭha of the Vasus[3]) and identifies them with names found on the coins. But one fails to understand how the learned scholar has come to the conclusion that Agnimitra had eight sons and they were named after the eight legendary Vasus It seems that the learned scholar has interpreted the following passage of the *Purāṇas* quite differently from what it ought to be :—अग्निमित्र. सुतश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः ।[4] Possibly he applies अष्टौ to सुत instead of to समाः while समाः stands for 'years' and is connected with अष्टौ and thereby means 'the son Agnimitra will be king for eight years'. Further, the verb भविष्यति is in the singular, the word अग्निमित्र is in the prathamā vibhakti, and the word सुत and नृप are also in the singular and there is च in between सुत and अष्टौ । All these are indicative of the fact that अष्टौ could only be taken here to mean eight years, which is in consonance with the

1. *IMC*, XXIII, 6,
2. *JBRS*, Vol. XXXV, Pt. I & II, p. 47
3. *Ibid*, Pt. I & II p. 50.
4. Cf. Pargiter's *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 31.

statement of one of the versions of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* 'तत्सुतोऽग्निमित्राष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपाः' ।[1]. But one different version of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, namely, 'पुष्पमित्रसुतास्चाष्टौ भविष्यन्ति समा नृपाः' [2] might have led the learned scholar astray. Jayaswal relying on this passage has suggested that king Puṣyamitra had eight sons and it seems that Bhaṭṭāchārya infers from it that king Agnimitra had eight sons. But it may be pointed out here that curiously enough the verb भविष्यन्ति is plural while the subject is singular. It seems to be a textual error, which might have been incorrectly converted into plurals mis-applying अष्टौ to सुत instead of to समा. which meant 'Year'. The correct meaning of the passage is 'the son of Puṣyamitra would be the king for eight years'. Had it not been the sense, there was then no occasion to use the word च in between सुतः and अष्टौ । Thus there is nothing to show that Agnimitra had eight sons.

Now coming to the attribution of various series of coins to Śuṅga kings by Bhaṭṭāchārya, we find that he has identified several symbols as Śuṅga. The three symbols found on the Pāñchāla coins viz., (1) a tree within railing, (2) a Śivaliṅga with two serpents on two sides, and (3) two serpents coiled together, represent, according to him, the Bodhi tree, the Śivaliṅga and the Nāga shrine which existed at Bodhagayā in the early Śuṅga period. He maintains that Agnimitra being a Śuṅga from Magadha naturally put an effigy of the holy shrines at Bodha-Gayā on his coins and his successors in Pāñchāla followed him. [3] But unfortunately he is not correct in his identification What he calls as a tree in railing

1. Pargiter's the Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, p 31, foot note 10, e *Vāyu Purāṇa*.
2. *Ibid*.
3. *JBRS*, XXXV, Pt. I and II, p. 56.

is quite different from the conventional, 'Tree in Railing' symbol that we find on coins and sculptures. It appears something like a Standard on a Platform. The other two symbols[1] also can not be interpreted as a Śivalinga and a Snake But even if we accept the identification by Bhaṭṭāchārya, it would be incorrect to say that this symbol group was innovated by Agnimitra. This symbol group is known on a series of coins, in which the coins of Agnimitra can not be placed at the top The earliest coin is that of Viśva-Pāla[2] and Rudragupta [3] He further takes the 'Bull' occuring on some of the coins found in the Punjīb and Avantī as the symbol of the Śuṅga rulers who according to him followed the 'Dharma Cult' which was the principal religion of Bodha-Gayā. If the Bull was the exclusive symbol of the Dharma cult, we do not know; but even if it was, one has yet to prove that it was accepted by the Śuṅgas. Again, we do not know if any other scholar has ever accepted these coins to be Śuṅga and if there is any other evidence to take the 'Bull' as the exclusive symbol of the Śuṅgas In fact the 'Bull' is a very common symbol found on coins from the earliest times It is very conspicuous on the Punch-marked coins of the Mauryan and the pre-Mauryan times and many later kings have also adopted it. In view of this popularity of the 'Bull' symbol, we cannot maintain that the Śuṅga coins have any special claim to it

Since I have earlier shown that the coins that were attributed to the Śuṅga rulers, namely, Jyeṣṭha, Odraka, Vāyumitra, Sumitra and Ghoṣa of the *Purāṇas*

1. *BMCAI*, p. 122, Pl. XV, 1.
2. *Ibid*, Pl XXVII, 4.
3. *Ibid*, Pl. XXVII, 1.

do not exist, I need not go into detail of what Bhaṭṭā-chārya has said about them. But a few words seem necessary about the others Aśvaghoṣa of the coins[1] is identified by him with the seventh Śuṅga king Ghoṣa of the Purāṇic list on the similarity of his name ending. But we have another king Bhadra-ghoṣa[2] whose coins are also known. According to Bhaṭṭāchārya's hypothesis then he may also be the same as Ghoṣa of the *Purāṇas*. If it was so, we will have to say that Ghoṣa issued coins in more than one name. Further, if only the name endings are a valid ground for the identity of two persons, the Śuṅga kings whose names end with "mitra" will have to be identified with all those kings, whose coins were disco-vered at various places and end with "mitra". Similar-ly the identification of the last Śuṅga king Deva-bhūmi with Devamitra of the coins is just a conjecture

(2) *Duration of the Śuṅga rule*

The *Purāṇas* have assigned a total reign of 112 years to the 10 Śuṅgas rulers, but if the individual rule of the 10 Śuṅgas as given in the *Purāṇas* is taken into consideration, then the total number of years of rule of the 10 Śuṅgas come to about 120 or 125 years (i.e. Puṣyamitra 36 years + Agnimitra 8 years + Suj-yeṣṭha 7 years + Vasumitra 10 years + Odruka 2 or 7 years + Pulindaka 3 years + Ghoṣa 3 years + Vajramitra 9 years + Bhāgavata 32 years + Devabhūmi 10 years = 120 or 125 years) i.e to say 8 or 13 years more than what has been assigned by the *Purāṇas* But if the years of rule of the individual king is determined in collaboration with some other evidence, then the total number of years of rule for the 10 Śuṅga kings comes to

1. *BMCAI*, Pl. XX, 6, p. 150.
2. *IMC*, Pl. XXII, No. 2, Cunningham's *CCAI*, Pl. VII, No. 10 & 11.

about 110 years (i.e. 36 + 8 + 7 + 10 + 10 + 3 + 3 + 9 + 14 + 10 = 110 years.) In this case there is a difference of only 2 years Morever, the 110 years of rule of the Śuṅgas is based on other evidences also and hence this may be the correct figure.

(3) *The Downfall of the Śuṅga Empire.*

The causes of the downfall of the Śuṅga empire are not far to seek The process of decay which had set in from the time of Agnimitra continued in the reign of the later Śuṅgas also. It has already been pointed out that the successors of Puṣyamitra had become luxurious and paid practically no attention to the affairs of the state. Agnimitra led a luxurious life, his son Vasumitra alias Sumitra also over indulged himself in the luxury of life and as a result thereof he even lost his life while he was witnessing a drama. The last Śuṅga king Devabhūmi had become so degraded that he, for the sake of the enjoyment of life, even· had accepted the daughter of his slave woman as his qeen who later on became the cause of his death at the instigation of his minister Vasudeva. This incident that Vasudeva, the minister of Devabhūmi had the courage to get the king murdered, very well suggests that the Śuṅga king Devabhūmi had become weak and his minister had become powerful, and this might have led ultimately to the downfall of the Śuṅga empire as there came the rule of ministersand the king was thrown into oblivion.

CHAPTER VIII

KAṆVA DYNASTY

Vasudeva, the first Kaṇva King.

Vasudeva, after putting an end to the rule of the Śuṅgas in Magadha, established a new dynasty which came to be known in history as the Kanva[1] dynasty of which he was the first king He is, therefore, known in history as Vasudeva Kaṇva.[2] He was a Brāhmaṇa by caste.[3] In the beginning he was simply a minister of the last Śuṅga King Devabhūmi or Devabhūti, but gradually he appears to have gained power and strength as will appear from the fact that he forcibly got the over-libidinous Śuṅga king Devabhūmi murdered by the daughter of his slave woman, disguised

1. In some of the *Purāna* manuscripts, the name of the dynasty is also spelt as Kānvāyana, Kampāyana, Kanṭhāyana, Kamvāyata, Kāsṭhāyana, Kāsvāyata etc but most of the manuscripts, however, give the name as Kanva (Vide · *'The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali age'* by Pargiter, p. 34 foot note 1 & 11.) Morever, the name Kanva is a well known ancient name. It finds mention in the *Baudhayana Śrauta Sūtra* (Vol. III p. 435 edited by W. Caland) among the list of the ancient dynasties, and also in the *Pañchaviṁsa Brāhmana* (Vol. VIII, 2 2., vide, *Bibliotheca Indica* work No 255) But the other names do not occur in any ancient literature except in the *Purānas* So it appears quite probable that the dynasty which flourished after the Śungas, was the Kanva dynasty.
2. देवभूतिं तु शुंगराजानं व्यसनिनम् तस्यैवामात्यः कण्वो वसुदेवनामा निपात्य स्वयम् अवनिम् भोक्ता (Vide. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by F E Pargiter, p 34, foot note 1) also Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāna* "शुङ्गं हत्वा देवभूति कण्वोऽमात्यस्तु कामिनम् स्वयं करिष्यते राज्यं वसुदेवो महामतिः ।" (Vide · *Ibid*, p. 34.)
3. कण्वायनो द्विजः (Vide : *The Purāna Text of the Dynastles of the Kali Age*, by Pargiter, p. 34).

as his queen[1] and then declared himself as king of Magadha. The overthrow of the Śuṅga king by his minister Vasudeva in this manner may very well suggest that the Śuṅga king Devabhūmi was a weak ruler and that he must have given his full reliance upon his minister, and as a result there of, Vasudeva derived undue advantage from the carelessness of the king and in course of time he could make himself so much powerful that he even got the king murdered and declared himself as king.

According to the Purāṇas Vasudeva Kaṇva ruled for 9 years. The events of 9 years of his rule have not been known to us from any source. His rule came to an end in 68 B. C.

Vasudeva Kaṇva was succeeded by his son Bhūmi· mitra.[2] He ruled for about 14 years. Nothing more than this is known about him. His rule came to an end in the year 54 B. C. He was succeeded on the throne by his son Nārāyaṇa.[3] He ruled for about 12 years. His rule, therefore, came to an end in the year 42 B C. Nārāyaṇa was succeeded by his son Suśarmā[4] Suśarmā was king for 10 years. Nothing

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1. अतिस्त्रीसंगरतमनङ्गपरवशं शुङ्गममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभूतिदासी· दुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत् ।
   (*Harṣacharita* by Bāna, p. 50. Ed. by P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1912).
2. There is a variation in the reading of his name but most of the *Purāṇas* e. g. *Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vishṇu* speak the name as Bhūmimitra, hence it appears to be a correct name. (Vide : *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by Pargiter, p. 34 foot note 13).
3. It has also some variations but most of the *Purāṇas* give the same as Nārāyaṇa, hence it may be the correct name (*Ibid*, foot note 16).
4. This name also has some variations but most of the Purāṇas give the name as Suśarmā, hence it might be the ocrrect name.

is known about him also beyond this. His rule came to an end in the year 32 B. C. These four Kaṇva kings thus ruled for 45 years. The total number of years of rule of the individual king fully agrees with the statement of the Purāṇas that these four Kaṇvas will rule the earth for 45 years. [1]

The Kaṇva kings in the *Purāṇas* are spoken of as righteous kings and are taken to be Brāhmaṇa by caste. In the Purāṇas, the Kaṇvas are also spoken of as Śuṅga-bhṛtya which means the servant of the Śuṅgas. We have already seen that Vasudeva, the first king of the Kaṇva dynasty, was really serving under the Śuṅgas as a minister. And as such he was a servant of the Śuṅga king though later on he became himself the master by killing his Emperor. Thus so far the first Kaṇva king Vasudeva is concerned, he was definitely a Śuṅga-bhṛtya but whether the other Kaṇva kings were Śuṅga-bhṛtya, it is not clear, because, after Vasudeva, they were kings in their independent capacity. Hence there is no reason why should they be called Śuṅga-bhṛtya. Does it mean that because the first king of the dynasty was a Śuṅga-bhṛtya, therefore, his other family members should also be called as Śuṅga-bhrtya or was it a fact that the Śuṅgas were still in power and they were the real rulers and others were under them But nothing, however, can be said definite on this point. So far Magadha is concerned, the Kaṇvas were difinitely ruling in their independent capacity and hence all of them should not have been called Śuṅga-bhṛtya i.e. the servant of the Śuṅgas.

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1. चत्वारस्तु द्विजा ह्येते, कण्वा भोक्ष्यन्ति वै महीम् ।
चत्वारिंशत् पंच चैव भोक्ष्यन्ति इमां वसुन्धराम् ॥
(Vide : *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by Pargiter).

It is also maintained by scholars that the Kaṇva kings ruled contemporaneously with the Śuṅgas and so the 112 years of rule of the Śuṅgas also included the 45 years of rule assigned to the Kaṇvas. In this connection, the view of Raychaudhuri[1] that "there is nothing to show that these rois faineants of the Śuṅga stock were identical with any of the ten Śuṅga kings mentioned by name in the Puraṇic lists who reigned 112 years; on the contrary, the distinct testimony of the *Purāṇas* that Devabhūti, the 10th & the last Śuṅga king of the Puranic list was the person slain by Vasudeva, the first Kaṇva probably shows that the rois faineants, who ruled contemporaneously with Vasudeva & his successors, were later than Devabhūti & were not considered to be important enough to be mentioned by name. Consequently the 112 years that tradition assigns to the 10 Śuṅga kings from Puṣyamitra to Devabhūti do not include the 45 years assigned to the Kaṇvas," is fully justified. In the Purāṇas it is said that after the 4 Kaṇvas have ruled the earth for full 45 years, the earth will go to the Āndhras. The Āndhras it is said, forcibly put an end not only to the Kanvas but whatever was left of the power the the Śuṅgas. This shows that some offshoots of the Śuṅga dynasty were also ruling somewhere most probably in Central India The Āndhras, suddenly had come into power and ousted the rule of the Kaṇvas in Magadha and the Śuṅgas in Central India.

In the Purāṇas it is mentioned "एते प्रणतसामन्ता भविष्या धार्मिकाश्च ये, येषां पर्यायकाले तु भूमिरान्ध्रान् गमिष्यति ।" This means that the Kaṇvas controlled their feudatory kings righteously. Now the question arises—who were after all these feudatory kings. In this connection we should

1. *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th Edition by H. C. Raychaudhuri, p. 399.

remember that in the inscription of Khāravela, we are introduced with the kings of Magadha (King Bahasatimita) and Rājagriha (the name of the king not known). It is said that king Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā inscription had defeated two kings (one at Magadha & the other one at Rājagriha) during his campaign of Northern India. The date of king Khāravela as previously stated roughly falls in the last quarter of the 1st century B. C. and as such he might be contemporary to the Kanvas. Hence it may be maintained that king Bahasatimita of Magadha & the king of Rājagriha might be some one from among the Kaṇvas, but unfortunately the name Bahasatimita does not tally with the name of any one of the Kaṇva kings. The question may, therefore, arise that who was after all this Magadhan king Bahasatimita of the Hāthigumphā inscription ? There is, however, some possible solution to this problem The statement of the *Purāṇas* that एते प्रणतसामन्ता भविष्या धार्मिकाश्च ये, येषां पर्यायकाले तु भूमिरान्ध्रान् गमिष्यति, may help us As king Bahasatimita of Magadha and a certain king of Rājagriha flourished in the period of the Kanva kings of Magadha, they might not then be independent kings ruling simultaneously with the Kanvas in the same region. So these two kings were probably the feudatories under the Kaṇvas but enjoying full autonomous power. The statement of the Purāṇas that the Kaṇvas will be righteous over their feudatories give force to the above view. Moreover, had they been imperial kings at that time, king Khāravela would have found difficulty in defeating them so easily. They appear, therefore, to be feudatories under the Kaṇvas, but enjoying full autonomous power. After the fall of the Kaṇvas, however, king Bahasatimita and other Mitra kings appear to have gained full power and ruled the kingdom of

Magadha quite independently as will appear from the later discussions about them. Thus taking into consideration about their rule first as feudatories of the Kaṇvas and later as independent kings, they might be said to have ruled for a considerable period of time.

CHAPTER IX

MAGADHA AFTER THE FALL OF THE KAṆVA RULERS

The history of Magadha from the fall of the Kanvas to the rise of the Guptas is almost shrouded in obscurity. Nothing, however, can be said with firmness as to who actually ruled over Magadha after the Kaṇvas. This is a , problem which requires a critical examination of the existing facts and the discovery of the new ones.

If we are to trust the Purāṇic tradition,[1] then it was Simuka,[2] the founder of the Śātavāhana dynasty, who rose to power after over-throwing the last Kaṇva

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1. कण्वायनींस्ततो भृत्याः सुशर्माणः प्रसह्य तम्, शुङ्गानाम् चैव यच्च शेषम्, क्षपित्वा तु बलीयसः शिशुकोऽन्ध्रः सजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमाम् वसुन्धराम् । त्रयो विंशतिः समा राजा शिशुकस्तु भविष्यति ।
(Vide : *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by Pargiter, p. 38).

2 "There is a variant reading of the name of this king. According to *Vishnu Purāna* the name is spelt as Śipraka. There it is mentioned" सुशर्माणं कण्वम् च भृत्यो बलात् शिप्रकनामा हत्वा अन्ध्र जातीयो वसुधाम् भोक्ष्यति ।
(Vide : *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by Pargiter, p. 38, foot note 2). In the *Bhavishya Purāna the* Āndhra king who killed Suśarmā is termed as Vrishala. It is mentioned "हत्वा कण्वाम् सुशर्माणम् तद्-भृत्यो वृषलो बलीगां भोक्ष्यनि अन्ध्रजातीयः केचित् कालम् असत्तमः ।
(Vide : *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by Pargiter, p. 38, foot note 2). In different versions of the manuscripts of the Purānas his name is spelt still differently. In one of the versions, he is known as "Sindhuka", in another version the name is spelt as "Śiśurka", while in some other version he is known as "Śiśruka" (Vide : *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by Pargiter, p. 38, foot note 2). The correct spelling as commonly accepted however, is "Simuka" which occurs in Luders list of Brāhmī inscription No. 1113 (Vide : *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. X, Appendix).

ruler Suśarmā and also subduing what remained of the Śuṅga power (probably in central India) and then established himself apparently at Pāṭaliputra. But there is, however, some difficulties in the matter.

Since Simuka according to the Purāṇas is taken to be an uprooter of the last Kaṇva king, his rise, therefore, roughly speaking, may be placed in circa 32 B. C., but then it becomes doubtful whether Simuka was at all a contemporary to the last Kaṇva ruler ? It is admitted by most of the scholars that the Sātavāhana dynasty came to an end in the year 210 A. D., and if it is so, the duration of the dynasty in that way would then be of only 242 years (210+32=242 years) and not of 300 years or so. The Purāṇic tradition of the Āndhra rule extending over 300 years,[1] therefore, does not support the aforesaid view that Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty could have put an end to the last Kaṇva king Secondly it is also not very clear from the existing materials as to whether any Sātavāhana king had advanced as far as Patnā. We have also not found any epigraph or coin[2] of the Sātavāhana rulers at Magadha, suggesting thereby the Sātva-

1. The duration of the dynasty comes to 300 years, if we deduct from 457 years (the real period of rule of the entire group of kings according to one Purāṇic tradition) the sum of 157 years which is the sum of the rule periods of the Śungas (112 years) and the Kaṇvas (45 years). The Sātavāhana rule was of a short duration in the north, and, therefore, the full details of its list of rulers were not known to all the custodians of the Puranic tradition. Some Purāṇas accepted the entire list and gave the dynasty a duration of 457 years. Other deducted from this period 157 years, the regnal periods, of the Śuṅgas and Kaṇvas and assigned a rule of only 300 years for this house.
2. A few copper coins of the king Sāta, however, have been discovered up to Jabalpore and Raipore Districts only.

vāhana conquest of the city. But as it is mentioned in the Purāṇas that Simuka overthrew and killed Suśarmā, the last of the Kaṇvas and also rooted out what remained of the Śuṅga power, so in all probability it would suggest that he advanced as far as the Gangetic plains and perhaps came right up to Pāṭaliputra and at least for some time kept it under his control. But for an upstart and founder of a ruling family of the Sātavāhanas, such a remarkable achievement is, rather, difficult to believe Hence in all probability, a feat that was done by a later Sātavāhana king in the last quarter of the 1st century B. C. has been wrongly ascribed to its first king Simuka by the Purāṇas. Simuka was too small a king to venture an expedition as far as the Gangetic plains much less to score a sustained victory over it

Though very little is known about the political events in the Sātavāhana history of the period, but at the same time in the above light, it admits undoubtedly that they were extending their sphere of influence in the east and northeast at this time. [1] Perhaps they had made a temporary raid into these regions making perhaps the district of Chhatisgarh and Jabalpore as the spring board[2] for the invasion of the Gangetic plains (as those regions were already conquered by the Sātavāhana in the time of the Sātakarṇi the 2nd.)

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1 One coin of Apilaka, a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the last quarter of the 1st century B. C. was found in the Mahānadi in the Chhatisgarh district of the Madhya Pradesh. At Jabalpore also coins of Sātakarni II had been discovered, which all these suggest that the Sātavāhanas were gradually advancing north east perhaps with Pāṭaliputra as their final goal.

2. In later time also, when the Rāshṭrakūṭas got a foothold in Mālwā, they used these regions as the spring board for marching into the Gangetic plains.

Though Pāṭaliputra might have been conquered by any one of the Sātavāhana kings as is revealed by the Purāṇas, but their stay in this region must be of a very short duration and that is why we have neither discovered any coin nor any inscription of these kings at Pāṭaliputra. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* distinctly states that the base born Āndhra king, who will kill the last Kaṇva ruler, Suśarmā will enjoy the earth (i e Pāṭaliputra) only for a short time[1] and this duration in my opinion may not be more than a few years for during the last quarter of the 1st Century B C., the city of Magadha appears to have passed under the suzerainty of the Mitra rulers whose names occur in the Gayā rail pillar inscriptions, in the coins found in this region and possibly in the Hāthigumphā inscription where reference has been made to a king of Magadha known by the name of Bahasatimita (ra).[2] Now before examining into the validity of this hypothesis, let us first review the view of Jayaswal who has propagated the theory that the Licchavis were ruling in Magadha after the extinction of the short rule of the Sātavāhanas in this region.

Jayaswal says, "The Nepal inscription of Jayadeva II of the Lichhavi dynasty dated in the Śrī Harsha *Samvat* 153 (758 A D) states that 23 successors

1. हत्वा कण्वम् सुशर्माणम् तद्भृत्यो वृषलो बली गां भोचयति अन्ध्रजातीयः कंचित् कालम् असत्तमः । (Vide . *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* by F. E Pargiter).
2. This king Bahasatimita was previously a feudatory of the Kanva kings as already stated earlier but later on after the fall of the Kanvas, he appears to have developed some power and probably ruled the kingdom of Magadha in an independent capacity also for we get his inscription as king on the stone railing at Bodha-Gaya. This hypothesis is possible only when king Brahmamitra of the Gaya rail pillar inscription and this king Bahasatimita of the Hāthigumphā inscription are taken to be one and the same king.

before Jayadeva I, his ancestor Supushpa Lichhavi was born at the city of Pāṭaliputra. The date of Jayadeva I is about 330 A. D. to 355 A. D. as worked out by Fleet. Now giving an average of about 15 years each to this long list of 23 kings we may place Supuṣpa in the beginning of the christian era. The Lichhavis in occupying Pāṭaliputra might have taken a mandate for doing so from the Sātavāhana emperor or they might have independently captured the capital which they had aspired to do for centuries. The disturbance caused to the Sātavāhana empeior by the appearance of Kadphises and Wimakadphises in North India afforded an ample opportunity to the Lichhavis to fill up the vacuum at Pāṭaliputra". [1]

The aforesaid theory of Jayaswal, however, is not based on any definite data. As against his view it may be argued that between Supushpa and Jayadeva I many kings ruled but their ruling period is not given. Hence merely on conjectural calculations it is rather difficult to place Supuṣpa in the beginning of the christian era Secondly, the Sātavāhana could not have ruled for so great a period of 50 years at Magadha as has been maintained by Jayaswal as during the last quarter of the 1st Century B. C. we find the Mitra kings (mentioned in the Gayā rail pillar inscription of the last quarter of the 1st Century B C. and corroborated by the Hāthigumphā inscription) ruling at Magadha.

So in the fitness of things the Lichhavis should not be thought of to have ruled in Magadha in the beginning of the christian era, but it may be thought of that for sometime in the last quarter of the 1st Century B. C., Magadha may have passed under the

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1. *J.B.O.R.S*, XIX, Pt. I & II, p. 112.

Mitra dynasty (of Gayā). Three Mitra coins were discovered at Kumhrār in 1912-13 including one of Indramitra and there is also an inscription of this ruler on the stone Railings at Bodha Gayā. All these would suggest that Southern Bihar, at least may have passed for some time under that dynasty.

So far Pāṭaliputra was concerned, Bahasatimita of the Hāthigumphā inscription was probably the ruler of this region. As a matter of fact he is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription as the king of Magadha[1] and in the region of Magadha is also included the region of South Bihar i.e. Gayā. It is, therefore, very likely that he might be the king of both Pāṭaliputra and Gayā regions after the death of king Indrāgnimitra. It is just possible that Bahasatimita of the Hāthigumphā inscription and Brahamamitra of the Gayā rail pillar inscription were one and the same personage and if it was so then king Bahasatimita (or Bahasatimitra) was the overlord of the Gayā region also, i.e. to say his suzerainty was extending up to Gayā region.

One terracotta fragmentary sealing (9″dia) bearing the legend Brahamamita in the 1st Century B. C. characters has also been found at Lauriyā Nandangarha.[2] Most probably this sealing of Brahamamita might be an official sealing of king Bahasatimita or Brahamamitra of Magadha. From all these it appears that king Brahamamitra or Bahasatimita of Magadha might be a powerful king.[3]

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1. मा (ग) धं च राजानं बहसतिमितं पादे वंदापयति । (Vide : *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I. by D. C. Sirkar).
2. *ASIAR*, 1936-37, p. 49.
3. King Bahasatimita of Magadha might have gained his power gradually after the fall of the Kaṇva rulers, and after the raid of the Sātavāhana kings and king

After the fall of this king who actually ruled over Magadha is a controversial problem. But the consensus of opinion, however, is that sometime during the 2nd half of the 1st Century A. D. Pāṭaliputra passed under the sway of the Kushāṇas and even after the withdrawal of the Kushāṇas some Scythian chief continued to rule at Pāṭaliputra who were completely Indianised in due course. Let us now critically examine the existing materials in support of the above view.

Magadha under the Kushāṇas

There are evidences in support of the view that Magadha passed under the rule of the Kushāṇa Emperors during the 2nd half of the 1st Century A. D. The first in the field is the finds of coins. A large number of copper Kushāṇa coins have been found all over Bihar i.e. at Buxar, Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī during the course of various excavations. Quite recently also at Kumhrār, during the excavations of 1951-54, six Kushāṇa coins have been discovered along with Terracotta figurines with typical Kushāna peaked head-dress. A detailed account of such coins found at various places together with a critical estimate of them as advanced by A. S. Altekar are given below.

Quite a fairly large number of copper coins about 402 in number of the Kushāṇas were discovered at Buxar.[1] Among these, 23 coins belonged to Wima Kadphises with Śiva standing by the side of the bull. There were about 159 coins of king Kanishka of various varieties. 44 of them were bearing wind-god

Khāravela might have defeated him at a time when he was ruling at Magadha just in a feudatory capacity under the Kaṇvas.

1. *JNSI*, XII, Pt. II, 1950, p. 121.

(Vata) on the reverse, 7 have four armed Śiva and the rest 108 bear unidentified deities. Then there were about 172 coins of king Huvishka, out of which 88 coins were of Elephant-rider type and the rest 84 coins show king seated cross-legged. There were also in the group 10 coins of the Ayodhyā kings of the Bull and cock type. The rest of the 38 coins are undecipherable. Most of the coins of this hoard are worn out which, therefore, indicate a long circulation for at least not less than 50 years as held by Altekar.

In the Pāṭaliputra excavation at Kumhrār, carried out by Spooner, 3 coins of Wima Kadphises, 12 coins of Kanishka and 30 coins of Huvishka were discovered. [1] At Vaiśālī also quite a fairly large number of Kushāṇa coins have been discovered. Altekar says, "The present hoard shows that Kushāṇa copper coins were quite common in Bihār not only down to the end of the reign of Huvishka but even for about 50 years more Copper coins do not travel long. Kushāṇa copper coins are not known to have travelled to Central or Western India through trade. If, therefore, they are found to be fairly numerous at Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra, and if a hoard, almost exclusively consisting of them, is found in Buxar—consisting of coins extremely worn out, the conclusion seems to be irresistible that Magadha was conquered by the Kushāṇas early in their dynastic history."[2]

Now the question arises who was the Kushāṇa king who might be credited to have first entered into the Gangetic valley plains as far as Pāṭaliputra. According to Altekar, it was Wima Kadphises who succeeded in reaching Pāṭaliputra. [3] The discovery of at least 5%

1. *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, 1950, p. 122.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

of coins at Buxar and three coins of this ruler at Pāṭaliputra help us in holding such a view. The Chinese sources also tell us that it was Wima Kadphises who conquered Northern India.[1] Altekar in this connection further says, "The Sārnāth inscription of Kanishka shows that Banaras was already included in his dominion as early as the 3rd year of his reign. So the conquest of the East might well have been done by his predecessor, Wima Kadphises."[2] In the aforsaid hoard at Buxar, not a single copper coin of the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva was found. This would, therefore, show that the Kushāṇas probably lost their hold of Bihar towards the end of the reign of Huvishka.[3] In the excavation at Lauriā Nandangarh from the mound O and trench L one copper coin of Huvishka was found.[4] One copper coin of king Kanishka showing the king standing on the obverse and the Sun god on the reverse and another coin of king Huvishka with figure of the king riding on elephant on the obverse and four armed Śiva on the reverse were also discovered in the excavation of Lauriā Nandangarh in 1936-37 All these would suggest that Kushāṇas had a firm footing

1. *JNSI*, XII, pt, II, 1950, p. 122.
2. *Ibid.*
3. One gold coin of king Vāsudeva I and one gold coin of the later Kushāṇa king were, however, discovered in the Ratan Tātā excavations at Pāṭaliputra in 1912-13 but these two gold pieces would not justify the conclusion that the Kushānas held Pāṭaliputra to the end of the 3rd Century A. D. These two solitary gold pieces would rather show that traders and pilgrims often brought Kushāna gold coins in Pāṭaliputra in 3rd Century A. D. The second of the gold coins noted above was the prototype for the Gupta currency and its discovery at Pāṭaliputra will show that the Gupta mint-masters could hove come across this Prototype at Pāṭaliputra itself (*JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, 1951, pp, 145-46).
4. *ASIAR*, 1935-36, p. 64.

in this land and that Magadha was under their control for sometime at least. Among the find spots of the Kushāṇa coins in Bihar[1] mention may also be made of the Belvadag and the Karra Thana of Ranchi district where one gold coin of Huvishka and another copper coin of Kanishka were discovered.[2] All such discoveries would, therefore, naturally suggest a continuity of the rule of the Kushāṇas from U. P. to Bihār.[3]

P. L. Gupta has advocated his view against the above observations that Kushāṇas might be ruling in Bihar, for a large number of their coins have been discovered right up to the regions of North Bengal. He says, "Sri Banerjee and Dr. Altekar put before us a long list of the finds of Kushāṇa coins widely scattered in Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Eastern U. P. They vehemently advocate that these coins are conclusive evidence of the Kushāṇa expansion in east. No doubt in view of the Numismatic axiom that copper coins do not travel generally long outside the territory of their circulation, prima-facie, there is every justification for the conclusions in favour of the extension of the Kushāṇa empire to Magadha and beyond. But at the same time we can not undervalue the history of Kauśāmbī, Pāñchāla and Ayodhyā reconstructed on the basis of Numismatic and other evidences."[4] Further he argues, "The coins of all these kings of Kauśāmbī are purely local and have no influence of the Kushāṇa or any other coinage to suggest that they were feudatories to them. Thus from the end of the 2nd Century

1. A complete list of such Kushāṇa coins is enclosed in the Appendix.
2. *JNSI*, XIII, June, 1951, pt. 1, p. 107-8.
3. An impression of a gold coin of Huvishka was also noticed by Cunningham below the Vajrāsana while repairing the Mahābodhī (Vide; Cunningham's *Mahābodhī*, p. 21, 37, 53 & 54.)
4. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX. No. 3. Sept. 1953. p. 212.

B. C. to the middle of the 4th Century A. D. Kauśāmbī was ruled continuously by local rulers independent of any imperial pressure. Pāñchāla has also a long series of uniform coinage with no less than twenty two kings, viz : Rudragupta, Jayagupta, Damagupta ....These kings ruled for no less than 5 centuries i.e. up to 3rd century A. D. or to the rise of the Guptas. Here too coinage is purely local and has no foreign influence. There is nothing to suggest that they were the feudatories of the Kushāṇas. Thus Pāñchāla was also independent kingdom during the reign of the Kushāṇas. Similar is the case of Ayodhyā ....Thus the reconstructed history of Kauśāṁbī, Pāñchāla and Ayodhyā shows that they were independent kingdoms when the Kushāṇas were ruling at Mathurā. The Kushāṇas could have proceeded to Banaras and Magadha only if any one of these was subdued for which we have still no evidence.[1] P. L. Gupta further says, "Of these finds, the coins found in the excavation at Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī would have been valuable, had their stratification been properly recorded. Dr. Altekar has pointed out that square and round cast coins were found in large numbers in the Kumhrār excavations. He concludes that this tends to show that the copper currency of the Kushāṇa succeeded in completely ousting the indigenous copper currency of the cast coins. This, he says, took place in about 75 A. D But in the absence of the stratification, there is nothing positive to suggest such an hypothesis.[2]

The aforesaid view of P. L. Gupta, however, does not appear to be quite convincing and plausible in the light of the following facts.

1. *IHQ*, XXIX, No. 3, 1953 p. 210-11.
2. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX No. 3, Sept. 1953.

Firstly, why should the coins of the Kushāṇas be so widely circulated from Mathurā right up to as far as Orissa[1] and north Bengal[2] if there was no political influence of the Kushāṇas over these regions? If there was practically no Kushāṇa influence over these territories then what was the use of carrying so many copper coins of the Kushāṇas which have been discovered at so many places right upto Orissa and North Bengal, specally when a hoard of them was discovered at Buxar. The arguement of P. L. Gupta that the use of the Kushāna coins in Bihar was due to the Economic need of the country just to meet the demand of the common people,[3] is rather far fetched, specially when the indi genous cast coins have been found in large numbers in the Kumhrār excavations, and the same could have been very easily used by the people in preference to the currency of a foreign ruler (specially when there was no political domination of the foreign rule). One really fails to understand as to why should the people take to the use of a foreign currency when there was already Indigenous coins in the country quite in abundance. In view of the above facts, one fails to understand as to why such a big hoard of Kushāṇa coins was carried over to Buxar, if the same was not under the control of the Kushāṇas? Well, by way of trade, however, gold coins may travel but not the copper coins specially in such large numbers for gold coins have their own metal value in any country irrespective of any poltical domination whatsoever. Over and above, if during the Kushāṇa period, these copper coins had not been in circulation in Bihar when they were actu-

1. *JNSI*, XIII, June 1951, pt I, p, 108.
2. *PASB*, 1882, p, 113, 162; *JASB* (N. S.) XXVIII, p, 127 of 1932.
3. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, Sept, 1953.

ally in power then there can be no necessity of carrying them after their downfall. Hence even if the hoard of copper Kushāṇa coins found at Buxar and also at Pāṭaliputra in large numbers have no stratification, then also it can be better thought of in the fitness of things that they were brought to these places during the life time of the Kushāṇa rulers specially when they were ruling at these places.

In this regard, P· L. Gupta has pointed out that the reconstructed history of Kauśāmbī, Pāñchāla and Ayodhyā shows that they were independent kingdoms when the Kushāṇas were ruling at Mathurā. The Kushāṇa could have proceeded to Banaras and Magadha only if any one of these was subdued for which we have still no evidence.[1] Well, P. L. Gupta may be justified to think like that but this is also possible that the Kushāṇas with the consent of these local rulers of Pāñchāla, Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā might have ransacked the territories of Bihar and Orissa where there was practically a chaos after the death of king Bahasatimita (of the Hāthigumphā inscription) and also after the decline of the power of king Khīravela of Kaliṅga. The Kushāṇas were probably wise enough not to disturb the well established rule of these local rulers, lest they may themselves be disturbed in their march to Bihar and Orissa.

The discovery of the Sārnāth image inscription of era 3 of king Kanishka further strengthens the theory of the rule of the Kushāṇas over that territory. Altekar has rightly said, "The Sārnāth inscription of Kanishka shows that Banaras was already included in his dominion as early as the 3rd year of his reign. So the conquest of the east might well have been done by

1. *IHQ*, Vol XXIX No. 3 Sept., 1953, pp 210–11.

his predecessor Wima Kadphises and the Buxar hoard, though burried about a hundred years after the death of Wima contains 5 % coins isued by that ruler. In Pāṭaliputra excavations also, three coins of this ruler were found. It is, therefore, not unlikely that towards the end of his reign Wima succeeded in conquering North India right upto Patna." [1] Secondly, the Sārnāth inscription specifically mentions the two names Kharapallana and Vanaspara with the title Mahākshatrapa and Kshatrapa respectively which suggest thereby that the territory of this region was probaly being governed by these two governors under Kanishka. But P. L. Gupta while refuting the above theory observes, "But this inference is never warranted from the lines of the inscription............In these two inscriptions the names of the two Kshatrapas are mentioned clearly as the associates in the donation of the statue of the Bodhisattva and the umbrella in the same way as is mentioned the name of the nun Buddhamitrā. There is nothing to indicate that Kharapallana and Vanaspara were stationed at Banaras in any administrative capacity. At the best it can only be inferred that they were also pilgrims like Friar Bala and the nun Buddhamitrā and in all probability they accompanied them in their journey and shared in the said donation.[2] P. L. Gupta, however, in the anthor's opinion, is mistaken to hold such a view in light of the following cogent and convincing view points.

The two Bhārhut inscriptions mention the word "सुगनं रजे" i.e. in the reign of the Śuṅgas. Does not that mean that this territory was included in the domain of the Śuṅgas ? Can it be argued otherwise ? We all know that the seat of capital of king Aśoka was

1. *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, 1950, p. 122.
2. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, Sept., 1953, p. 208.

Pāṭaliputra but do we get any one of his Rock Edicts at Pāṭaliputra ? The answer is in the negative. Then does that mean that king Aśoka was not ruling at Magadha ? On the other hand the Purāṇas indirectly refer to 13 Muruṇḍa kings ruling in the post Āndhra and pre-Gupta period [1] and that these Śaka-Muruṇḍas[2] were ruling at Pāṭaliputra is vouchsafed by the *Bṛhatkalpavṛtti* of the Jains as quoted in the *Abhidhāna Rājendra*[3]. Hence it appears quite probale that during the lst-3rd century of the Christian era, the great portion of the Gangetic valley was dominated by the Śaka-Muruṇḍas. We, however, do not get any coin of these rulers and this is rather strange. Most probably they were the governors under the Kushāṇas whose supremacy spread at least up to Bihar as may be suggested

1. Vide *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by Pargiter p. 46.
2. The Śakas had migrated to India from Central Asia and the history of their migration is mentioned in the Chinese records. In the Annals of the First Han dynasty (i.e. Ts'ien Han-shu of Pan-ku) it is stated "formerly when Hiung-nu conquered the Ta-Yuetchi the latter emigrated to the west and subjugated the Tahia ; whereupon the Sai-Wang went to the South and ruled over Kipin." (vide : *JRAS*, 1903, p 22; 1932, p 958; *Modern Review*, April, 1921, p 464). These Sai-Wang were probably the same people as that of the Śaka-Muruṇḍa of the Indian tradion. Muruṇḍa is probably a later form of the Śaka word "Wang" which means master, Lord or King The country of Kipin over which they ruled probably stood for Kapiśā, which signified the area drained by the northern tributaries of the river Kābul with Gāndhār being the eastern part of its realm (vide Sten Konow's views in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIV, p 290–91). Dr. Hermann, however, has identified Kipin with Gāndhāra itself (vide : *JRAS*, 1913, 1058n).
3. Vol. II, p 726. The two Śaka-Muruṇḍa personalities who were ruling in Bihar (Pāṭaliputra) as governors under the Kushāṇa king Kanishka in about the 1st century A. D. were perhaps Mahākshatrapa Kharapallana and the Kshatrapa Vanaspara.

by the discovery of their coins at these places in large number. For a further proof of the Śaka-Muruṇḍa rule in Pāṭaliputra, the reference may be made to the Chinese accounts also which represent Muruṇḍa as a suzerain of great power to whom distant kingdoms owed their allegiance and whose capital was Pāṭaliputra. In this connection S. K. Bose writes, "There was an embassy from China to Fu-Nan (Siam) in the 3rd century A. D. Just at that time had returned from India the envoys sent thither by the king Fu-Nan. The Chinese thus met the Siamese envoys in Fu-Nan and received an account of India from them. In this account we find the mention of a King of a country in India called Meon-Muruṇḍa The Chinese accounts represent this Muruṇḍa as a suzerain of great power to whom distant kingdom owed allegiance and whose capital was Pāṭaliputra. The French scholar has also noticed how in the given books the Muruṇḍarāja is said to be residing in Pāṭaliputra. [1] Hence during the Ist-3rd centuries of the Christian era, the great portion of the Gangetic valley was dominated by the Muruṇḍas... The wave of the Kushāṇa conquest rolled far to the east of Mathurā and Banaras and did not. stop before it swept Bihar". [2] Besides these evidences, a seal of the sister of the Western Satrapa Rudrasena (c. 200 A. D.) was discovered by Spooner at Baśārh i.e. Vaiśālī. [3] This may also suggest that Bihar had come under the rule of the Śaka-Satrapa (Kushāṇas) and the Śaka-Muruṇḍas (probably as governors) during the Ist-2nd century of the Christian era and remained under their power most probably till the rise of the Guptas. A period of at least 300 years of rule of the

1. Merutunga's "प्रबन्ध-चिन्तामणि," बम्बई, 1888, p. 27.
2. *Indian Culture*, III, 1936,-37, p. 729.
3 *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 136.

Kushāṇas with Śaka-Muruṇḍa as governors also influenced the indigenous culture of the lower Gangetic valley to a greater extent. The terracotta figurines discovered at various places in Bihar during the excavations reveal a deep-rooted Kushāṇa influence over them. Potteries also show a great influence of the Kushāṇa culture on them. Most of the Head-dresses in the terracotta figurines are purely evident of the Kushāṇa culture in technique. They are seen wearing helmeted Head-dresses, long boots, tunic and trousers. [1] Sometimes they are also peak-shaped which are quite suggestive of the influence of the Kushāṇa culture on them and this was possible only when the Kushāṇas had a well established rule and a long stay at this place extending over at least not less than 200 to 300 years. Besides this, according to the Chinese tradition Kanishka is also said to have carried away Aśvaghosha from Vaiśālī [2] This shows that Kanishka had conflicts with the people of Vaiśālī and it may, therefore, point out that the Kushāṇas had come up to Vaiśāli. On account of all these facts it may be said that the Kushāṇas were ruling in Magadha during the 1st-3rd Century A. D. and in the absence of other evidences they may be said to have ruled till before the rise of the Guptas in Magadha.

1. Cf. the terracotta figurines of the excavations at Kumhrār and Patna city carried out under A. S. Altekar.
2. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol XIV, p. 142; *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 382 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II, ixxii & lxxv. by Sten Konow.

B : SOCIAL CONDITION

CHAPTER X

CASTE SYSTEM

The society during the period under review was not free from caste groupings. There were four main divisions of the society. They were the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The beginning of the 2nd century B. C. heralded the period of Brahmanical revival. Brāhmaṇas who had for some time lost their high status, during the time of Buddha and Aśoka once more regained their old position. Let us now survey in some detail the respective positions of the four Varṇas in relation to each other.

The four Varṇas

The social order of the four Varṇas during the early periods may be inferred from the respective positions they were given for their mythical origin in the body of the Supreme being. According to *Purusha-sūkta,* [1] a Brāhmaṇa sprang from the mouth of the Supreme being, while a Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra sprang from the arms, thighs and feet respectively of the Supreme Purusha. This may very well suggest the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas over the rest of the three Varṇas and that a Kshatriya was superior to a Vaiśya and the Śūdra on the other hand was probably the lowest social unit.

During the early periods, the status of a Brāhmaṇa as a whole was considered higher than a Kshatriya. In the *TaittirīyaSaṁhitā,* [2] they are said to be as visible gods. In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* a Brāhmaṇa is decla-

1. Ṛgveda, X. 90. 12.
2. . 7. 3. 1. एते वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षं यद् ब्राह्मणाः ।

red to be much superior to a Kshatriya. It is said, "For indeed the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no Purohita, therefore, a king when about to offer a sacrifice should have Brāhmaṇa as his Purohita, with the idea 'may the gods eat my food'. [1] G. S. Ghurye on the authority of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says that king rules by the authority delegated to him by the Brāhmaṇas. [2] The eminence of a Brāhmaṇa over a Kshatriya is further revealed in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] where Varuṇa is found saying that a Brāhmaṇa is indeed preferable to a Kshatriya. Even a small child of Brāhmaṇa was considered superior to an aged Kshatriya. [4] All these very well suggest the high esteem in which the Brāhmaṇas were generally held by the society during the Brāhmanical and the Sūtra periods.

During the Mauryan times, due to the pro-Buddhist policy of king Aśoka, there was some set back in the high status of the Brāhmaṇas, but by the beginning of the 2nd century B. C., however, the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas was again established (probably as a reaction to the pro-Buddhist policy of king Aśoka). The position of the Brāhmaṇas might have been elevated further specially by the establishment of the Brāhmaṇa rule in Magadha. Pushyamitra Śuṅga who was a Brāhmaṇa, became the king of Magadha after killing the last Maurya king Bṛihadratha & foundad the Śuṅga dynasty. This dynasty again was succeeded by Brāhmaṇa rulers i e. Kaṇvas who were Brāhmaṇa by caste. In the south also duiing this period, there was the Brāhmaṇa rule. The Sātavāhanas were definitely Brāh-

1. Vide. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pt, 1, chap, II, p, 40 by P. V. Kane.
2. *Caste & Race in India* , p, 42, by G. S. Ghurye.
3. Chap. 33. 4.
4. Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, p, 53.

maṇas as is clear from their inscriptions. The second reason which might have helped the Brāhmaṇas during this period in acquiring a prominet position in the society was the wide prevalence of the Vedic sacrifices and various other Brāhmaṇical rites & rituals[1] The performance of these rituals required the presence of a priest (Brāhmaṇa) as every one was not considered to be quite efficient to officiate at a sacrifice. The performance of a sacrifice required a good deal of knowledge of the Vedas, and the Brāhmaṇas were generally well-versed in that subject. According to Patañjali, the great grammarian, it was imperative for a Brāhmaṇa to study the Veda along with its six parts without any motive of gain[2] Manu also lays down that a Brāhmaṇa should study the Veda daily without any motive of gain since the study of the Veda is his highest Dharma and the rest of his activities are said to be his secondary Dharma.[3] In the *Milindapañho* also it is stated that a Brāhmaṇa should study the four Vedas, Purāṇas, Lexicography, Prosody, Astrology, Science of lucky marks etc.[4] Such being the facts, the logical conclusion may, therefore, follow that people who very often performed a sacrifice or any other religious rites required the help of a Brāhmaṇa as a result of which the Brāhmaṇs came to occupy the most dignified and the most prominent position in the society

That a Brāhmaṇa was occupying a superior position than a Kshatriya in the society may also be inferred from the statement of Patañjali when he says,

1. Vide Supra,
2. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति । (vide *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Ed. by Kielhorn).
3. *Manu*, IV. 147
4. यथा वा पन महाराज ब्राह्मणमाणवकान इरुव्वेदं, यजुव्वेदं, सामवेदं, अथब्बणवेदं, लक्खणं इतिहास, पुराणं, निघण्टुं, केटुभं अक्खरप्पभेदं, पद, वैयाकरण, सकुन, सुत्तरवितं सिक्खा करणीया (vide: *Milinda-pañho*. IV. 3. 26)

ब्राह्मणवदस्मिन्क्षत्रिये वर्त्तितव्यमिति-
सामान्य यद्ब्राह्मणकार्यं तत्क्षत्रियेऽतिदिश्यते ।[1]

i.e. to say that a Kashatriya should be treated like a Brāhmaṇa or in other words what is normally done for a Brāhmaṇa should also be extended to a Kshatriya Manu also declares,

"ब्राह्मण दशवर्षं तु शतवर्षं तु भूमिपम्,
पितापुत्रौ विजानीयाद् ब्राह्मणस्तु तयोः पिता ।[2]

i.e. to say that a Brāhmaṇa only 10 years old is regarded as a father by a Kshatriya 100 years old or in other words it may mean that a Brāhmaṇa was much superior to a Kshatriya Such being the high status of the Brāhmaṇas, it was, therefore, considered rather a sin by the society to kill a Brāhmaṇa [3] Society thus imposed some restrictions in the murder of a Brāhmaṇa [4]

The Varṇa distinctions had become so much deep rooted in the society during the periods under review, that Manu is fully guided by the Varṇa considerations in the administration of justice also, for the punishment prescribed by him for a particular offence differs from Varṇa to Varṇa. The Variation in the punishment was probably due to the high & low status of a Varna in the society Thus if a Kshatriya defames a Brāhmaṇa, he has to pay a hundred Paṇas as fine, a vaiśya has to pay 150 or 200 Panas for the same offence where as a Śūdra has to suffer corporal punishment [5] But if a Brāhmaṇa defames a Kshatriya, he has to

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1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I 1 56 (3) & Vi. 3 68.
2. *Manu*, II. 135
3. यो ह्यजानन्वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सुरां वा पिबेत्सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् । (vide *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Ed., by F. Kielhorn, vol. I, pp 2 & 20).
4. लोके तावद्ब्राह्मणो न हन्तव्यः सुरा न पेयेति, ब्राह्मणमात्रं न हन्यते सुरामात्रं च न पीयते । (vide. Patañjali on Pāṇini VI. 1. 84.)
5. *Manu*, VIII. 267.

pay a fine of 50 paṇas; if he commits the same offence against a Vaiśya only 25 Paṇas, but for insulting a Śūdra the fine is reduced to only 12 Paṇas.[1] Manu has further laid down very severe punishment for Śūdras offending the members of the superior Varṇas. Thus if a Śūdra insults a twice born with gross invective, his tongue is to be cut off.[2] Here the term twice born may be taken to stand for Brāhmaṇa & Kshatriya only since the aforesaid punishment is expressly forbidden in the case of a Śūdra reviling a Vaiśya.[3] This may suggest that the status of a Vaiśya during this period might have been reduced almost to that of a Śūdra Manu further lays down that if a Śūdra utters the name and caste of the twice born (dvijāti), an iron nail about ten fingers long is to be put red-hot into his mouth[4]

In cases of assault and similar crimes the punishment prescribed by Manu for Śūdras is also very severe. It is laid down by Manu that a Śūdra will lose his very limb with which he hurts a man of higher caste.[5] Again if an apakrişṭaja (a man of low birth i e a Śūdra) sits on the same seat with an utakrişṭa (a man of high caste i e. Brāhmaṇa & Kshatriya) he is either to be branded on his hip & banished or

1. *Manu*, VIII 268. Here the fine of 12 Panas imposed by Manu on a Brāhmana insulting a Śūdra is rather more significant for in the Sūtra period no such fine was prescribed for a Brāhmana for that offence (Cf. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, XII. 13) This suggests a little better status of the Śūdras during this period in comparison to the Sūtra period
2. *Manu*, VIII 270.
3. *Ibid.*, 277.
4. *Ibid.*, 271.
5. *Ibid.*, 279. Here Antyaja is taken to stand for the Śūdra and Śrestha for Brāhmana & Kshatriya, also Cf. Kulluka on *Manu*, VIII. 279

his buttock shall be gashed by the order of the King.[1] Again, if a Śūdra even out of ignorance spits on a Brāhmaṇa, both his lips are to be cut off, and if he urinates on him, his penis and if he passes wind against him, his anus.[2] Besides these, probably for similar offences like the above, Manu lays down as a general rule various corporal punishments for a Śūdra Varṇa intentionally inflicting pain to a Brāhmaṇa. Manu as a law giver has laid down that a judge should cause a Brāhmaṇa to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides on, a Vaiśya by his kin, grain & gold while a Śūdra by imprecating on his head the guilt of all grievous sins.[3]

Now how far such punishments and injunctions as laid down by Manu were followed & carried out in the society are difficult to say for we have hardly any evidence to determine whether such provisions were carried out. But all such provisions in the law books of Manu may at least suggest that the relation between the highest & the lowest Varṇas were highly strained & that the society attached very little importance to the life of a Śūdra It may also be further suggested that the social status of a Brāhmaṇa was higher than the rest of the three varṇas & the Kshatriya on the other hand was superior to Vaiśya & Śūdra, and the Vaiśya was slightly on a higher position than a Śūdra—though the social distinction between the Vaiśya & the Śūdra was tending to become blurred.

The period of expiation of sin of murder of a certain person also depended upon Varṇa considerations. Thus Manu prescribes a penance of three years

1. *Manu*, VIII, 281.
2. *Ibid.*, 282.
3. *Ibid.*, VIII. 113.

in the case of the murder of a Brāhmaṇa,[1] where as in the case of the murder of a Śūdra, he prescribes a penance for 6 months only.[2] Manu also prescribes a wergeld of ten cows & a white bull for the murder of a Śūdra.[3] These provisions as laid down by Manu leave no doubt that very little importance was being attached to the life of a Śūdra. Similarly, the period of time fixed for the mourning of a person was less for a Brāhmaṇa in comparison to the rest of the three Varṇas. Manu prescribes 10 days mourning for a Brāhmaṇa, 12 days for a Kshatriya, 15 days for a Vaiśya and about a month for a Śūdra.[4]

The low status of a Śūdra in comparison to the other three varṇas is further corroborated by Manu when he says that a Śūdra is ordained by God to serve the higher castes.[5] The King should order a Vaiśya to trade, to lend money, to cultivate land or to tend cattle and a Śūdra to serve the three upper Varṇas,[6] but in times of distress (i. e Āpad–dharma), however, the service of the Śūdra was probably reserved for the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya, for the word "Api" is attached with Vaiśya. This may thus suggest that probably by this time the Vaiśya community had degenerated in the social status, and that they had been reduced almost equal to the status of a Śūdra may be inferred by the statement of Manu who says that if in times of distress, the Vaiśya, finds it difficult to support himself by his own occupation, he should take to the occupations of a Śūdra i e. live by serving

1. *Manu*, XI. 128.
2. *Ibid.*, XI. 130.
3. *Manu*, XI. 130.
4. *Ibid.*, V. 83.
5. *Ibid.*, I. 91.
6. *Ibid.*, VIII. 410.

the members of the twice born caste.[1] This is further corroborated by a passage in the *Milindapañho* where cultivation, trade and tending of cattle are described as the functions of the ordinary folk such as the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras.[2] This equal status of the Vaiśyas with that of the Śūdras might be only during the times of distress as already observed before and not during the normal times. Manu, holding in view the relative high and low status of the four Varṇas, introduces rates of interest which differs according to the social order of the Varṇas. Thus according to him the monthly interest should be two, three, four & five per cent according to the order of the Varṇas.[3]

Manu lays down that the Brāhmaṇa can confidently seize the goods of his Śūdra slave for he is not allowed to own any property.[4] This may very well suggest that the Śūdra slaves were subjected to utter economic stringency. But, this may, however, the case only with the Śūdra slaves and not the Śūdras in general for it is evident from Manu's law of inheritance that Śūdras owned some property,[5] although they were not permitted to accumulate much wealth for in that case they would inflict pain to the Brāhmaṇas.[6] The legal distinction between a Śūdra and a slave is clearly recognised by Manu when he refers to the son of a Śūdra by a Dāsī i. e. a female slave.[7] This may suggest that sometimes the Śūdras themselves were keeping slaves. However, whatever the position might

1. *Manu*, X. 98.
2. *Milindapañho*, p. 178.
3. *Manu*, VIII. 142.
4. *Ibid.*, VIII. 417.
5. *Ibid*, IX. 157.
6. *Ibid.*, X. 129.
7. *Ibid.*, IX. 179.

be, it is quite clear from the statements of Manu that the relation between the Brāhmaṇas and the Śūdras was highly strained and the economic position of the Śūdras was unsatisfactory. Manu further says that a Śūdra whether bought or unbought, should be reduced to slavery because he is created by God for the service of a Brāhmaṇa.[1] At another place Manu says that a Śūdra can not be released from servitude for servitude is innate in him.[2] All these rules show a definite attempt on the part of Manu to keep down the Śūdras economically We further learn from Patañjali that there was a wide difference between the wages of the Karmakāras and the Bhṛitakas on the one hand and those of the priest on the other. Thus while the latter received cows as their wages, the former received only $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Nishka daily i e. $7\frac{1}{2}$ Nishka per month.[3] These Karmakāras and the Bhṛitakas were no other than the Śūdras for they were generally employed as hired labourers and slaves and the manual labour was generally done by them[4]

We learn from Patañjali that in returning greetings Śūdras were addressed differently from the non-Śūdras. Thus an elevated tone was not to be used while addressing a Śūdra. The term "Bho" was, therefore, used in addressing a Rājanya or a Vaiśya but not a Śūdra.[5] Manu no doubt affirms the different forms of greetings in relation to the members of the four varṇas,[6] but one thing he adds more by saying that a Brāhamaṇa who

1. *Manu*, VIII. 413
2. *Ibid.*, 414.
3. Patañjali on Pāṇini I. 3. 72. Here Nishka probably stands for Kārshāpaṇa. Vide : Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p 562.
4. *Manu*, VII, 138; X. 120; VIII 413 & 414.
5. Patañjali on Pāṇini, VIII. 2. 82 & 83.
6. *Manu*, II. 127.

does not know the form of returning salutations must not be saluted by a learned man because in that case he is like that of a Śūdra,[1] and that a Śūdra can be greeted respectfully if he has reached the 10th. decade of his life.[2]

There was so much varṇa discriminations in the society during the periods under review that Manu introduces varṇa distinctions even in the ceremony of naming the child. Thus according to him a Brāhmaṇa name should stand for something auspicious, a Kshatriya name should denote power, a Vaiśya name wealth and a Śūdra name should connote something contemptible.[3] As a corollary to this he states that the titles of the members of the four Varṇas should respectively stand for happiness, protection, prosperity and service.[4] Now, how far this provision was followed by the people, we have no evidence to support it, but the above principle of nomenclature as laid down by Manu may, however, suggest that the members of the lower orders were the objects of contempt in the Brāhmanical society. Thus the word Vṛishala probably used for the Śūdra was a term of abuse and approbrium,[5] suggesting thereby that the Śūdras were considered despicable elements in the society. Patañjali says, "आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन"[6] i e. to say a Vṛishala was so much degraded in the society that people did not even hesitate to beat him with foot. The Vṛishalas were placed in the category of Dasyus who were regarded by the society as contemptible people.[7] Here one thing should be made clear that although nowhere in the *Mahābhāshya*, the term Vrishala

1. *Manu*, II, 126.
2. *Ibid.*, 137.
3. *Ibid.*, 31.
4. *Ibid.*, 32.
5. Patañjali on Pāṇini, VI. 2. 11.
6. *Ibid.*, I. 3. 28.
7. *Ibid.*, V. 3. 66.

distinctly refers to a Śūdra, the similar status of the Vṛishalī and Dāsī,[1] and the proverbial poverty of the Vṛishala[2] very well suggest that the social status of the Vṛishala was no better than a Śūdra. We get the social distinction between a Brāhmaṇa and a Vṛishala in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in the same context in which the distinction is between a Śūdra and a Brāhmaṇa as laid down by Manu. Thus Patañjali says that while the Brāhmaṇa gets a high seat, the Vṛishala gets a low seat.[3] Furthermore, he says that a person can indulge in illicit and disreputable dealings towards a Vṛishalī and Dāsī but he is enjoined to behave with due respect towards a Brāhmaṇī.[4] In view of the above contexts, therefore, distinction here between the Brāhmaṇa and the Vṛishala in the *Mahābhāṣya* should be taken in the sense as that of between the Brāhmaṇas and the Śūdras who were the most despicable and degraded social unit. The degraded position of the Śūdra is further revealed by the statement of Manu when he says that a Brāhmaṇa who lives in the company of the most excellent people and shuns all low people becomes most distinguished but by the opposite conduct he is reduced to the position of the Śūdras.[5] Manu further provides that a Snātaka should not travel along with the Śūdras,[6] and should not eat the food of a Śūdra.[7] To eat the leavings of the Śūdras was considered to be a sin. Manu lays down that he who takes the leavings of women and Śūdras should remove impurity by drinking barley gruel for seven days and nights.[8]

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 3. 69 & I. 2. 48.
2. *Ibid.*, I. 2. 47 & VI. 3. 61.
3. *Ibid.*, II. 2. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, I. 3. 55.
5. *Manu*, IV. 245.
6. *Ibid.*, 140.
7. *Ibid.*, 211.
8. *Ibid.*, XI. 152.

The Varṇa distinction in the society is further reflected in Manu's provisions of inter varṇa marriages. Thus Manu permits the member of a higher varṇa to marry the woman of lower varṇa,[1] but he adds that if the twice-born persons marry women of their own and also of the other varṇas at the same time, the seniority, status and habitation of these wives must be settled according to the order of the varṇas.[2] Manu has totally disapproved the idea that a Śūdra woman would be the first legal wife of either a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya. This may very well suggest that the Śūdra wives of the higher varṇas had a low status in the society. That a Śūdra woman was occupying a low status in the society is further corroborated by Patañjali when he says that the Dāsī and Vṛishalī were meant for satisfying the pleasures of the people of higher varṇas.[3] Manu also declares that the twice born persons are soon degraded to the status of a Śūdra if they marry Śūdra women[4] Manu is totally opposed to the idea of a Brāhmaṇa having sexual intercourse with a Śūdra woman, for such persons go to hell after death and their issues by such unions lose the rank of a Brāhmaṇa[5]

Having thus examined the relative positions of the four Varṇas, let us now survey the distinctive features and traits and privileges of a Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra varṇa.

Brāhmaṇas had some special traits and features by which they could easily be distinguished from the rest of the three varṇas. A Brāhmaṇa could be

1. *Manu*, III. 13.
2. *Ibid.*, IX. 85.
3. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 3.. 69 & I. 2. 48
4. *Manu*, III 15.
5. *Ibid.*, 17.

distinguished as such by his very superior origin, by the knowledge of vedic lores and by his eminence in the religious austerities.[1] These were the three main qualities of a Brāhmaṇa by which he could easily be recognised. There were, however, a few other minor qualities also of a Brāhmaṇa. They were thus said to be of fair complexion and could easily be distinguished from a Vṛishalī who was of dark appearance.[2] Besides this a Brāhmaṇa was probably considered to be good in behaviour and was having brown hair.[3]

Brāhmanas had to observe certain rules of etiquette They were not permitted to ease themselves while standing, nor were they allowed to eat while going on the way.[4] Those who transgressed these rules of discipline were regarded as non-Brāhmaṇas. According to Patañjali, only that Brāhmaṇa was a virtuous one who behaved properly and one who performed the daily duties properly[5] It has been also observed by Manu that,

वेदोदितं स्वकं कर्म नित्यं कुर्यादतन्द्रितः ।
तद्धि कुर्वन्यथाशक्ति प्राप्नोति परमां गतिम् ॥

i e. to say that a Brāhmaṇa should perform his daily duties leaving aside sluggishness Manu prescribes certain rules to be observed by a Brāhmaṇa Manu lays down that a Brāhmaṇa should procure wealth as much as is just sufficient to maintain his life.[6] He

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1. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः । (Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 2. 6.)
2. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 2. 8.
3. *Ibid*, II 2. 6.
4. अब्राह्मणोऽयं यस्तिष्ठन्मूत्रयति.
   अब्राह्मणोऽयं यो गच्छन्भक्षयति । (vide : Patañjali on Pāṇini II. 2. 6.)
5. गुणवानयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यः सम्यगाचारं करोति । (vide : Pat. on Pāṇ. V. I. 119)
   also cf : भोगवानयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यः सम्यक्स्नानादीः क्रिया अनुभवति । (vide : Pat. on Pāṇ. V. I. 9.)
6. *Manu*, IV. 3.

also lays down that a Brāhmaṇa householder should possess as much grain as is just sufficient to fill a Kusūla (i. e. a grainary) or just a Kumbhī (a small pot), oı he should store as much grain as is just sufficeint to maintain him for three days only or as much as can be finished in a day.[1] Out of these four types of Brāhmaṇa householders, each succeeding type was considered superior to each pıeceeding ones.[2] All these provisions suggest that the Brāhmaṇas in general might be leading a pious life Their motto was perhaps plain living and high thinking.

Patañjali mentions two types of Brāhmaṇas. The first one who takes food in a Śrāddha ceremony and the other one who does not.[3] Most probably those Brāhmaṇas who did not take food in a Śrāddha ceremony were on a higher position than those who participated in such a ceremony.

Functions and occupations of the Brāhmaṇas.

Teaching, study of vedas, offering sacrifices, accepting gifts and officiating at a sacrifice were the main occupations of the Brāhmaṇas.[4] Out of these six duties of a Brāhmaṇa, teaching, accepting gifts and officiating at a sacrifice were his three means of livelihood.[5] Some of the Brāhmaṇas had become family priests (commonly known as Purohitas) of kings[6]

1. *Manu*, IV. 7.
2. *Ibld*, IV. 8.
3. Patañjalı on Pānıni, I. 1. 43.
4. *Manu*, I. 88 "अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा ।
   दानं प्रतिग्रहं चैव ब्राह्मणानामकल्पयत् ।"
5. षण्णां तु कर्मणामस्य त्रीणि कर्माणि जीविका ।
   याजनाध्यापने चैव विशुद्धाच्च प्रतिग्रहः । (*Manu*, X. 76.)
6. Patañjalı, the great grammarıan was hımself the sacrificıal Priest of kıng Pushyamıtra Śuṅga. cf. इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः (Pat on Pāṇ. III. 2. 123.)

Though some of the Brāhmaṇas were the family priests but from a statement of Patañjali it appears that many of them used to engage themselves as Ṛtviks. The Ṛtviks were the priestly class of Brāhmaṇas whose work was only to conduct the various religious performances of the people and those Brāhmaṇas were known as Āitvijīna Brāhmaṇas.[1] Patañjali says "लोहितोष्णीषा ऋत्विज· प्रचरन्ति"[2] i. e the Ṛtvij Brāhmaṇas wearing red-turbans are seen moving. It thus suggests that the Ṛtvik class of Brāhmaṇas were very common who on certain occasions for officiating at a religious rites might be wearing red turbans on their heads The sacrificial priests were of sixteen types.[3] Among these the temple priests were regarded by the society as of low grade and were unfit for any Śrāddha ceremony or for any other religious rites. They were no better than those Brāhmaṇas who earned their livelihood by selling meat, medical practice and by indulging in trade[4]

Receiving Gifts were the other source of livelihood of the Brāhmaṇas. Gifts were both in kind as well as in cash[5] Though a Brāhmaṇa no doubt could receive gifts but there were, however, certain rules prescribed for receiving the same Manu furnishes us a lot of infomations as regards the gifts to be accepted by a Brāhmaṇa As already stated earlier, Brāhmaṇas were enjoined to receive gifts as much as was just sufficient to satisfy their needs. Manu, however, as a general rule lays down that a Brāhmaṇa should not receive gifts as

1. Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Vol II. p, 357 by F. Kielhorn. (यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां तत्कर्मार्हतीत्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यं। ऋत्विक्कर्मार्हत्यार्त्विजीनं ब्राह्मणकुलमिति ।
2. Patañjali on Pānini, I 1. 27.
3. *Manu*, VIII. 210.
4. *Ibid.*, III 152.
5. *Ibid.*, XI. 3. & Patañjali on Pāṇini, VI. 1. 49.

in the end its result is not good;[1] and a Brāhmaṇa loses his spiritual power by accepting gifts again and again.[2] He should, therefore, maintain himself on the collection of fallen grains rather than receive gifts.[3] But in the straitened circumstances, however, he was permitted to receive gifts,[4] but that also not from a Śūdra even for a sacrifice as in that case he would become a Chāṇḍāla in his next birth.[5]

Let us now survey a few aspects of the Śūdras also which have not been examined earlier while dealing with the relative positions of the four Varṇas.

In the *Purushasūkta*[6] it is stated "Padbhyāṁ Śūdro ajāyata" i. e. the Śūdras weıe created from the feet of the Supreme being. They were probably the same class of people as Dāsas or Dasyus of the Vedic literature who were conquered by the Aryas and were then made to serve them. In the Vedic literature, the Dāsas are referred to as having the dark skin.[7] Patañjali also refers to the Śūdra as of dark Varṇa and are distinguished from a Brāhmaṇa who are said to be of white complexion.[8] The Dāsas were enjoined to serve the Aryas similarly the Śūdras were also to serve the upper three Varṇas,[9] specially the Brāhmaṇas.[10] Thus it apears prima facie, that Dāsas & Dasyus of the Vedic period were in later periods probably changed into the Śūdras.

1. *Manu*, X. 109
2. *Ibid* IV. 186.
3. *Ibid*, X, 112
4. *Ibid*., 102 & 103
5. *Ibid*., XI 24
6. X. 90. 12.
7. Cf. *History of Dharmaśāstra'*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p, 25 by P. V. Kane.
8. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 2- 11 & II. 2. 8.
9. *Manu*, I. 91.
10. *Manu*, VIII. 413.

That the Śūdras were a much degraded and despised social unit can very well be inferred from the statement of Patañjali who says, दशपुरुषानूकं यस्य गृहे शूद्रा न विद्येरन् स सोमं पिबेदिति ।[1] i.e. to say that that person only, in whose line of family there was no Śūdra up to ten generations, was permitted by the society to drink Soma. From the above statements of Patañjali it may thus very well be inferred that Śūdras were low class of people and their presence was rather unwelcome to the society.

Manu gives us some information regarding the food and the dress of the "Śūdra" (probably engaged as domestic servants). Thus Manu says that a Śūdra should be given the remnants of food, worn out clothes, tasteless food and old covers and beddings.[2] This gives us some idea about the general living conditions of the Śūdra probably engaged as domestic servants. There are a few other instances which also testify to the low living standards of the Śūdras engaged as hired labourers. This is with regard to the wages of the workers and hired labourers. Manu lays down that a hired labourer who does not perform his work or rather fails to carry out his works according to the agreement simply out of pride, shall be fined 8 Krishṇalas and no wages are to be paid to him.[3] Besides this they were very poorly paid. We learn form Patañjali that there was a great difference between the wages of the hired labourers such as the Karmakāras and the Bhṛitakas and those of the priestly class of people. Thus while the priests used to get cows as their gifts, the Karmakāras and the Bhṛitakas received only $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Nishka daily[4]

1. Patanjali on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 93. (5)
2. *Manu*, X, 125
3. *Ibid.*, VIII, 215.
4. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 3. 72. Here Nishka stands probably for kārṣāpaṇa.

Śūdras probably because of their low status were not allowed to perform the Vedic sarifices.[1] Manu states that those who do not perform the morning and evening duties are like the Śūdras who are debarred from all religious rites.[2] Further, Manu lays down that a Śūdra is not fit for any advice, nor is he to be given the leavings of the offerings made to gods, nor should any one give him any religious instruction nor should he be asked to observe any Vratas.[3] He is not worthy to receive the religious sacraments and that he has no right to follow the Dharma of the Āryas.[4] Manu further lays down that a twice born should not associate his Śūdra wife with the performance of religious rites;[5] And if he does foolishly he should be degraded to the rank of a Chāṇḍāla.[6] A Brāhamṇa was enjoined not to beg from a Śūdra anything required for the sacrifice and if he did so he would be born as a Chāṇḍāla after death.[7] A learned Brāhmaṇa was even not allowed to take cooked food from a Śūdra since he was not fit for any religious rites.[8] From the religious point of view Manu considers women & Śūdras as the most impure sections of the society. They are generally to be avoided by a person engaged in the Chāndrāyaṇa vow.[9] But inspite of the facts that the Śūdras as a general rule were debarred from the performance of any religious rites, Manu at one place, however, throws some light on the point that Śūdras also used to perform

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV 1 93. also cf. *Manu*, IV. 99&108.
2. *Manu*, II, 103.
3. *Ibid.*, IV. 80
4. *Ibid.*, X. 126.
5. *Ibid.*, IX. 86.
6. *Ibid.*, IX. 87.
7. *Ibid.*, XI, 24.
8. *Ibid.*, IV. 223.
9. *Ibid.*, XI, 223.

certain yajñyas for there was a class of priests specially for the Śūdras who used to conduct the religious rites of the Śūdras.[1] According to Manu those who acted as priest for a Śūdra by receiving wealth from him and offered Agnihotra were censured by the Brahamavādins as Śūdra Ṛitvijas.[2] All these definitely suggest that Manu permits the Śūdra at least some religious rites which were not allowed to them in the early periods, although in general the Śūdras were considered unfit to perform a religious act

Let us now make a general survey of the various mixed castes arising out of the intermixture of Varṇas (which all are generally grouped in the category of Śūdras).

Manu informs us about a large number of mixed castes which were the outcome of intermixture of Varṇas Thus he refers to the mixed castes such as the Ambashṭha, Pāraśava, Ugra, Ayogava, Kshattṛi, Chāṇḍāla, Nishāda, Pukkasa, Kukkuṭaka, Śvapāka, Veṇa, Kāruṣa etc.[3] Ayogava was an offspring from the union of a Śūdra male and a Vaiśya female; Ugra of a Kshatriya male and a Śūdra woman; Kshattṛi from the union of a Śūdra male and a Kshatriya female (pratiloma); Chāṇḍāla a Pratiloma caste was the offspring of a Śūdra male from a Brāhmaṇa female; Kāruṣa of the union of a Vrātya vaiśya and a similar female; Nishāda an Anuloma caste was the offspring of the union of a Brāhmaṇa male with a Śūdra female. Manu also referes to the mixed caste Kuṇḍa,[4] an

1. यावतः संस्पृशेदङ्गैर्ब्राह्मणाञ्छूद्रयाजकः, तावतां न भवेद्दातुः फलं दानस्य पौर्तिकम् (*Manu*. III. 178. & 179)
2. *Manu*, XI. 42-43.
3. *Ibid.*, X. 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 23; XII. 55. also cf Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 97.
4. *Ibid.*, III. 174.

offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a married Brāhmaṇa female (whose husband is alive) and a Brāhmaṇa male, and Māgadha[1]-sprung from the union of a Vaiśya male and a Kshatriya female. Similarly, reference has been made to the various other mixed castes arising out of the intermixture of Varṇas. Manu thus lays down that a Brāhmaṇa begets on the daughter of an Ugra an Āvṛita ; on the daughter of an Ambashṭha an Ābhīra and on the woman of the Ayogava caste a Dhigvaṇa.[2] Similarly, a Chāṇḍāla begets on Nishāda women a son called the Antyāvasāyī who is despised even by those who are excluded from the four fold Varṇa system.[3] Similarly, the Sūta, Vaidehaka, the Chāṇḍāla, the Māgadha, the Kshattṛi and the Ayogava beget on women of similar castes children who are more despised and are more sinful than even their fathers and are, therefore, excluded from the Varṇa society.[4] Manu mentions a few more mixed castes. Thus he refers to a Sairindhra, Maitreyaka, Mārgava or Kaivarta born of Dasyu, Vaidehaka and the Nishāda respectively on a Āyogava woman.[5] Similarly, on a Vaidehaka woman the Chāṇḍāla begets an issue known as Pāṇḍuśopāka and the Nishāda an Āhiṇḍaka.[6] Again a Nishāda begets a Kārāvara (charmakāra) on a Vaidehaka woman and a Vaidehaka begets an Āndhra on a Kārāvara woman and on a Nishāda woman a Meda.[7] Similarly, Veṇa is the offspring of a Vaidehaka male from an

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1 *Manu*, X. 11 & 17.
2. *Ibid.*, X. 15.
3. *Ibid.*, X. 39.
4. *Ibid.*, X. 26–29.
5. *Ibid.*, X. 32–34.
6. *Ibid.*, X. 37.
7. *Ibid.*, X. 36.

Ambashṭha female[1] and makes his livelihood by beating musical instruments.[2] Sūta, according to Manu, is the offspring of a Kshatriya male and a Brāhmaṇa female.[3] Sopāka is the offspring of a Chāṇḍāla male and a Pukkasa female, subsisting by the profession of being hangmen to those whom the king condemns to death.[4]

The Chāṇḍāla, Antyāvasāyins, Śvapākas were engaged generally for executing criminals and in return they were given their clothes, beds and ornaments,[5] where as the Kshattras, Pukkasas and Ugras were employed in hunting and killing of animals living in holes.[6] Quite a large number of mixed castes have now been surveyed, and let us now examine whether these mixed castes were untouchables. The untouchables were those who lived outside the general dwelling places of the common people and whose food vessels were discarded by them.

Some of the mixed castes thus as enumerated by Manu may be grouped in the category of untouchables. After enumerating the functions of the Nishādas, Āyogavas, Medas, Āndhras, Madgus, Kshattṛis, Pukkasas, Dhigvaṇas and Veṇas, Manu says that these people should live near famous tree and burial grounds, on mountains or in groves.[7] This may very well suggest that these people lived outside the general dwelling places of the common people—most probably outside the Brāhmanic settlements and this may be

1. *Manu*, X. 19.
2. *Ibid.*, X. 49.
3. *Ibid.*, X. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, X. 38.
5. *Ibid.*, X. 39 and 56.
6. *Ibid.*, X. 49.
7. *Ibid.*, X. 50.

due to the fact that they were probably untouchables. The Chāṇḍalas and the Śvapachas, however, were definitely the untouchables as they were enjoined to live outside the village and were 'Apapātras' too i. e. their food vessels were discarded. Their sole property consisted of dogs and donkeys; they took their food in broken dishes, used ornaments of iron and clothes of dead people and moved from one place to another.[1] They were not allowed to come in towns and villages at night.[2] All these surely indicate that they were untouchables.

Manu has avoided all contacts between the Brāhmaṇa and the untouchables He has even laid down that a 'Snātaka' should not stay with the Pukkasa, Antyaja, Chāṇḍāla and Antyāvasāyī.[3] The Chāṇḍālas were not even permitted to look at a Brāhmaṇa at the time of Śrādha Ceremony[4]

Now another point for consideration is whether the Chāṇḍālas were the same as the Śūdras? Although no where it is mentioned by Manu specifically that the Chāṇḍālas were no other than one of the groups of the Śūdras of the lowest order, Patañjali has referred to such things. Patañjali refers to two types of Śūdras. The one who lived in the dwelling places of the Āryas and whose food vessels were not discarded by the people, but the other type of the Śūdras lived outside the Brāhmanic settlements and whose food vessels could not be used by the people of the higher Varṇas. In the second category were placed the Chāṇḍālas and the Mṛitapas whose food vessels were discarded by the people of the higher Varṇas, and they were known as

1. *Manu*, X 51 and 52.
2. *Ibid.*, X. 54.
3. *Ibid.*, IV. 79.
4. *Ibid.*, III. 239.

'Niravasita' Śūdras.[1] Manu[2] also has pronounced the Chāṇḍālas and Śvapachas as 'Apapātras' i. e. whose vessels (food-vessels) were not used by the people. The other class of Śūdras such as Rajaka, Tantuvāya, Āyaskara were known as 'Aniravasita' Śūdras for their food vessels were not discarded by the people of the higher Varṇas They could without any reservation take food in the same dish in which the other Varṇas took without making it impure permanently. But so far their religious rites were concerned, they were, however, not permitted to perform the Vedic Sacrifices.[3] From all these observations, it appears that the mixed castes and the untouchables had been absorbed in the inferior Śūdras who were distinguished from the ordinary Śūdras by their separate habitation and backward culture.

The upshot of the whole discussions may be summed up by saying in general that there was a Varṇa distinction during the period under review. Manu, the law giver had been also driven to the effects of that distinction so much so that the various provisions as prescribed by him are guided by low and high Varṇa considerations. Inspite of the fact that the Śūdras were the most degraded social unit even then there appears to be a general improvement in their conditions in comparison to their conditions of the early periods. During this period, the Śūdras gained some religious and civic rights and their positions had become almost equal to that of the Vaiśyas in many aspects. From the above discussions it also follows that a Brāhmaṇa was occupying a superior position in the society than a Kshatriya and a Kshatriya was superior to a Vaiśya.

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 4. 10.
2. *Manu*, X. 51.
3. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 4. 10.

CHAPTER XI

THE FOUR ĀŚRAMAS

According to the Hindu conception, a man's life was divided into four stages which were commonly known as the 'Chaturāśrama' or the four Āśramas. Patañjali also, no doubt, refers to the four Āśramas (Chaturāśramyāṇi[1]) but he does not, mention their specific names Manu, however enumerates them as follows—

ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थो यतिस्तथा ।
एते गृहस्थप्रभवाश्चत्वारः पृथगाश्रमाः ॥[2]

i. e. the first stage was that of a student, namely the 'Brahmachārī', the second stage was that of the householder namely the 'Gṛihastha', the third stage was that of a forest dweller commonly known as 'Vānaprastha' and the last stage was that of an ascetic namely the 'Yati' The life of a Parivrājaka or that of a Sannyāsī, Bhikshu or Muni also signified the last stage. Let us now deal with the various Āśramas one by one

Brahmacharya Āśrama

The Brahmacharya Āśrama was the first stage of man's life. It was the Āśrama of a student. Entry into this stage of life was to be after the Upanayana Ceremony of a man. The Upanayana Ceremony did not mean just the beginning of one's education but it marked his initiation into the Vedic studies. The time for this ceremony was different for the different Varṇas. Generally the Upanayana saṁskāra of a Brāhmaṇa was performed in the eighth year from his conception

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, V. 1. 124.
2. *Manu*, VI. 87. also cf. IV. 1 ; VI. 2 ; 33 & 8?

and that of a Kshatriya in the eleventh year and of a Vaiśya in the twelfth year.[1] But sometimes in the special circumstances it was also performed in the fifth, sixth, and eighth year respectively of a Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya.[2] But one who did not abide by the rules inspite of the wide option as prescribed by the law givers and remained un-initiated till the last prescribed time, that person was considered low, reduced to the status of a Vrātya and fallen from the position of a twice born (i. e. Sāvitrī) and discarded by the Āryans.[3] He was also debarred from all religious and social privileges of the society.

After the Upanayana ceremony was over, a student was usually sent to a teacher for receiving the vedic instructions from him. A student had to stay at his teacher's residence for long time, probably till he finished his educational attainments, but, there were some students who probably did not stay at the teacher's residence for a long time for completing their education and such students were given the appellation 'Tīrthakāka' by Patañjali, probably due to their unsteady nature just like that of a crow at a 'Tīrtha' place.[4] The life of a student was one of devotion and dedication towards the Vedic studies. Patañjali says, "युज्यते ब्रह्मचारी योगम्."[5] Here the word 'योग' is not used for any Yogic activity of a student but योग here probably stands for the deep devotion of a student towards the Vedic studies and this is what was generally expected from a student. During the period of studentship, a student had to observe certain rules of discipline, the

1. *Manu*, II. 36.
2. *Ibid.*, II. 37.
3. *Ibid.*, II. 39 & X. 41.
4. यथा तीर्थे काका न चिरं स्थातारो भवन्त्येवं यो गुरुकुलानि गत्वा न चिरं तिष्ठति स उच्यते तीर्थकाक इति । (vide : Pat on Paṇ, II. 1. 42.)
5. Patañjali on Pāṇini, III. 1. 87.

transgression of which was highly censured and criticised by the society. Patañjali says, खट्वा क्षेपे किमुदाहरणम् । खट्वारूढो जाल्मः । क्षेप इत्युच्यते कः क्षेपो नाम । अधीत्य स्नात्वा गुरुभिरनुज्ञातेन खट्वारोढव्या । य इदानीमतोऽन्यथा करोति स उच्यते खट्वारूढोऽयं जाल्मः । नातिव्रतवानिति ।[1] From this statement of Patañjali it appears that a student was not permitted to sit on a cot before his teacher until and unless he got the due permission of his teacher and that also after he had finished his study and taken his bath. So a student had to observe certain rules of discipline during the period of his studentship. This is also corroborated by Manu.[2] That the period of studentship was one of severe penance and full of troubles may be inferred from the following observations of Patañjali. He says, य· एष मनुष्य· प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति स पश्यति दुःखमध्ययनं दुर्धरं च गुरवश्च दुरुपचारा इति । स बुद्धया संप्राप्य निवर्तते ।[3] The passage clearly suggests that the life of a student was very hard. A student had to please his teacher which was rather a troublesome affair. But he had to please him because his education totally depended upon the mercy of his teacher Another statement of Patañjali[4] makes it quite clear that the student had to do certain works of his teacher in order to please him and probably in the neglect of which he had to bear the reproach of his teacher.

A student could easily be recognised as such by his special sign and symbol which he usually carried with himself. Thus a student used to carry a Kamaṇḍalu in his hand. Kamaṇḍalu was, therefore, a special sign to recognise a student.

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1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 1. 26.
2. *Manu*, VI. 26.
3. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 4. 26.
4. कथम्-उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते इति पश्यत्ययं यदि मामुपाध्यायः पश्यति ध्रुवं मे प्रेषणमुपालम्भो वेति । (vide : Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 4. 28.)

During the period of studentship a Brahmachārī did not devote himself only to the Vedic studies but a number of Vedic Vratas were also observed by him. Some students observed the 'Mahānāmā vrata[1] and such students were known as Mahānāmnikaḥ.[2] Similarly, those who observed the Vrata (i. e. a sort of vow) of Āditya (the sun god), they were designated as 'Ādityavratikaḥ.'[3]

Students were specialising in different subjects. Thus some were devoted to the study of history, some studied Purāṇas, some were engaged in the study about the sage 'Yavakrītika' (probably a legendary sage), some were taught about 'Yayāti' and some were engaged in the study of Vāsavadattā, tales, Saumanottara, etc[4] Thus we see that the curriculum of the humanities was vast and wide There were different aspects of the Educations itself. They were as follows :[4]

(1) Āṅgavidyaḥ : i. e. the education concerning the body. This was probably the science of Physiology.

(2) Kshātravidyaḥ : i. e. the education concerning a Kshatriya. This was probably a teaching in the art of warfares.

(3) Dhārmavidyaḥ : i. e. studies on religion and religious teachings. It also dealt with the rules in the Dharmaśāstras.

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1. It was a kind of religious observance in which the Mahānāmā verses of the Vedas were recited by the observer.
2. Patañjali on Pāṇini, V. 1. 94.
3. *Ibid.*
4. विद्या चाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मत्रिपूर्वेति वक्तव्यम् । आङ्गविद्यः क्षात्रविद्यः धार्मविद्यः त्रैविद्यः । आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च ठग्वक्तव्यः । यावक्रीतिकः प्रैयङ्गविकः यायातिकः । आख्यान । आख्यायिका । वासवदत्तिकः सौमनोत्तरिक ऐतिहासिकः पौराणिकः । (vide : Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV. 2. 60.)

(4) **Traividyaḥ** : This was probably the education in the three Vedas. Female students were probably interested in the study of Mīmāṃsā also (which dealt with the various problems connected with the Vedic sacrifices) for Patañjali informs us about a lady Theologian known as Kāsakṛitsnā who had composed a work on Mīmāṃsā known as Kāsakṛitsnī [1] Most probably those women who used to devote and specialise themselves in such a science were known as Kāsakṛitsnā

The period of studentship was probably upto the age of 24[2] but in some cases, however, some students used to continue their studies till the age of 48.[3] This might be the case with regard to serious students who wanted to achieve proficiency in their studies devoting to the recitation of the Vedic Texts and the performance of the Vedic sacrifices. After the period of studentship was over which generally ended at the age of 25 or 24 one had to make a choice between two paths of life. One was the married life and the second one was a life of detachment living quite alone and keeping himself quite free from the worldly pleasures and pain. Those students who selected the first path were known as "Upkurvāṇa" and those who selected the second one they were known as Naishṭhika. The Upakurvāṇas just after the completion of their period of studentship used to marry themselves and become householders, but the Naishṭhikas used to stay at their teacher's residence (i. e. Gurukulas) devoting their whole life in the service of their masters in search of deep knowledge.[4]

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 14.
2. *Manu*, IV. 1.
3. Patañjali on Pānini, V. 1. 94.
4. *Manu*, II. 243.

Gṛihasthāśrama (The house-holder)

In the Āśrama scheme as given by Manu, the Gṛihasthāśrama occupies the second place.[1] The household life mainly consisted of the husband, wife and children. The Gṛihasthāśrama was an important—Āśrama "for it was a source of subsistence to the rest of the three Āśramas, namely the Brahmacharya, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa,"

यथा नदीनदा· सर्वें सागरे यान्ति संस्थितिम्,
तथैवाश्रमिणः सर्वें गृहस्थे यान्ति संस्थितिम् ।[2]

i e. to say as all rivers get shelter in the ocean, similarly all the Āśramas find their resting place in the Gṛihasthāśrama. Manu speaks in clear terms that the householder is the sustainer of the three Āśramas and, therefore, may be considered to be the best of all,[3] and one who longs for imperishable heaven and happiness in this world should uphold the Gṛihasthāśrama.[4] The householder is as necessary for society as the breath is for the body[5] The society, therefore, might have considered Gṛihasthāśrama to be an important aspect of a man's life.

The existence of the Gṛihasthāśrama presupposes the existence of the institution of marriage. From the religious point of view, marriage was necessary as in the performance of any religious rite, the presence of a wife was considered to be very essential.[6] Marriage was, therefore, obligatory both for men and women. With regard to marriage, K. V. Rangswami Aiyangar writes, "Life is incomplete without matrimony.

1. *Manu*, IV. 1., VI. 87.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, 90.
3. *Ibid.*, VI. 89.
4. *Ibid.*, III. 79.
5. *Ibid.*, III, 77.
6. *Ibid.*, IX. 96.

Marriage is the way to heaven (dārāḥ Svargasya Saṁkrāmaḥ) because a wife has to be associated in the libations to ancestors and the sacrifices to gods. Even in the married state, if the wife is temporarily incapaciated by ceremonial impurity the rites have to be stopped till she is again pure."[1]

Let us now examine the various forms of marriages in the Gṛihasthāśrama which were prevalent in the society during the period under survey. Manu refers to at least eight forms of marriages, namely, Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa and lastly Paiśācha[2] The first four forms were approved by the society but the remaining four were not recommended by the society although they were also in vogue in the society.[3] Let us now survey in brief the various aspects of all these eight forms of marriages.

1. Brāhma

This form of marriage was regarded by the society to be the best and the purest. It may have been prevalent mostly among the Brāhmaṇas. In this form of marriage the girl was generally given to a man of learning and good character specially invited along with the presents of some ornaments by the father of the girl[4]

2. Daiva

In this type of marriage a sacrificer offered his daughter to an officiating priest who was found qualified

1. Cf. *Aspects of the Social and the Political System of Manusmṛiti. by* K. V. R. Aiyangar, p. 156.
2. *Manu*, III. 21.
3. *Ibid.*, III. 24 & 25.
4. *Ibid.*, III. 27.

for the matrimonial tie.[1] This type of marriage may not be quite common in the society, for the possibility of such a marriage being performed was very rare as such a marriage required the performance of a sacrificial rite which was, however, not a common feature.

3. Ārsha

In this form of marriage the father of the girl received a pair of kine or two from the boy for the performance of rituals and sacrifices [2] In a way it may be said that the father received the cow by way of price for the girl for it was a sort of sale and it mattered little whether one accepted a large sum or a small one.[3]

4. Prājāpatya

In the Prājāpatya form of marriage the father gave away his daughter to a person on the understanding that they should both perform their religious and civic duties together.[4]

5. Āsura

In this form of marriage the girl was sold to a man who offered money to the relatives of the girl and the girl herself and, therefore, accepted her out of free will.[5]

6. Gāndharva

This was a sort of love marriage In it the girl and the boy met each other of their own accord and ultimately consummated their union.[6]

7. Rākshasa

According to Manu, the capture of a girl by force after having killed and injured her relatives and while

1. *Manu.*, III. 28.
2. *Ibid.*, III. 29.
3. *Manu*, III. 53.
4. *Ibid*. III. 30.
5. *Ibid.*, III. 31.
6. *Ibid.*, III. 32.

she is weeping and crying is known as Rākshasa form of marriage.[1] Manu has recommended this type of marriage to the Kshatriya class and that is why, sometimes, this type of marriage is also described as the Kshātra marriage.[2] The possibility of such a type of marriage being performed and consummated was only during the times of war, and the Kshatriyas were renowned for warfares and that is why, most probably, Manu has recommended this type of marriage to the Kshatriyas only.

8. Paiśācha

This was the worst type of marriage and very low in character. In this marriage, the man stealthily used to have intercourse with the girl while she was asleep, intoxicated or disordered in mind or by physically overpowering her just to make her yield to his passion. Such a type of intercourse with a girl was known as Paiśācha marriage.[3] In my opinion this was not a sort of marriage but may be said to be a sort of looseness in character or social lapses. There were, however, other cases of moral lapses too which have been dealt in the separate section under the caption "Social moral laxity."

Marriage, though very much essential, a man's second marriage, if he had already a healthy wife, was, however, not favourably looked upon by the society. Manu says;

कृतदारोऽपरान्दारान्भिक्षित्वा योऽधिगच्छति ।
रतिमात्रं फलं तस्य द्रव्यदातुस्तु संततिः ॥[4]

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1. *Ibid.* III. 33. It is called Rākshasa because demons are khown from legends to have been addicted to cruel and forceful methods.
2. *"The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization,"* by A. S. Altekar, 1938. pp. 44–45.
3. *Manu,* III, 34.
4. *Ibid.,* XI. 5.

i. e. to say a second wife could give to a person a carnal gratification and nothing else. This may clearly suggest that polygamy could not have found full support of the society as a whole. But in special cases, however, such as if a man's wife was diseased or barren, then he was allowed to perform a second marriage, though such cases must be very rare.[1]

Intercaste-Marriages

Intercaste marriages were of two types: (a) Anuloma and (b) Pratiloma. Marriage of males of higher caste with females of lower caste was known as Anuloma marriage and Pratiloma was just its reverse. These types of marriages were no doubt prevalent in the society but truly speaking such marriages were not favourably looked upon by the society as a whole.

The Śuṅga king Agnimitra who was a Brāhmaṇa had married a Kshatriya girl Mālavikā by name. Manu's law of inheritance bears further testimony to the existence of the intercaste marriages. Manu allows at least the 10th part of the property to the Śūdra son born of a Brāhmaṇa.[2] Manu has further given a list of various mixed castes and the children born of such intercaste unions were given very low social status.[3] The existence of the intercaste marriage is further revealed by Patañjali when he says:

दशापुरुषानूकं यस्य गृहे शूद्रा न विद्येरन् स सोमं पिबेदिति ।[4]

i e. to say in whose line of family, there is no Śūdra for at least 10 generations, he is only fit to drink Soma. Here there is a clear indication of an intercaste

1. *Manu*, IX, 81 & 82.
2. *Ibid.*, IX. 151-55.
3. Vide; infra, Section on "Caste-System",
4. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 248.

marriage probably between the male of any one of the higher three castes and the female of the Śūdra class. This passage also suggests that such intercaste marriages were not favourably looked upon by the society. Manu also suggests the same thing when he says,

यस्तु तत्कारयेन्मोहान्सजात्या स्थितयान्यया ।
यथा ब्राह्मणचाण्डाल पूर्वंदृष्टस्तथैव सः ॥[1]

Further, भर्तुः शरीरशुश्रूषा धर्मकार्यं च नैत्यकम् ।
स्वा चैव कुर्यात्सर्वेषां नास्वजातिः कथंचन ॥[2]

These two verses suggest no doubt the existence of the intercaste marriages but at the same time also reveal the unfavourable attitude of the society against such an union.

We have thus seen that though intercaste marriage was prevalent in the society during the period under review, it was, however, not favourably looked upon by the society as a whole

Let us now examine and survey another aspect of the marriage institution which was 'Niyoga' or the 'Levirate.' Manu says that Niyoga cannot take place in marriages which are performed according to Vedic mantras[3] From this statement of Manu it may very well be suggested that the Niyoga or the Levirate might have been confined mainly to the Śūdras since in the marriages of the Śūdras, the utterance of the Vedic mantras was prohibited. This is further corroborated by another statement of Manu who clearly speaks that widow remarriage and the Niyoga are regarded as beastly practices by the twice born people well versed in Śāstras[4] Jolly, however, has observed

1. *Manu*, IX. 87.
2. *Ibid.*, IX. 86.
3. *Ibid*, IX. 65.
4. *Ibid*, IX. 66.

that Manu's view sometimes becomes contradictory.[1] As a matter of fact Manu cannot be said to be contradictory in his statement if we keep in view that Manu's approval of Niyoga and widow remarriages was meant for the Śūdras and his condemnation of these was meant for the members of the higher three Varṇas and this clarifies the position.

Vānaprastha

Vānaprastha was the third stage of a man's life. The entry into this Aśrama was open for one who had already spent the household life Manu says—

गृहस्थस्तु यदा पश्येद्वलीपलितमात्मनः,
अपत्यस्यैव चापत्यं तदारण्यं समाश्रयेत् ।[2]

i. e. when the householder becomes old and when he has got sons and grandsons, he should retire to the forest This verse thus suggests that after the household life one used to live in a forest for spending the third stage of his life. In this connection one thing should be pointed out that a forest dweller (वानप्रस्थी) unlike a Sannyāsī (सन्यासी) did not altogether renounce the world but on the other hand, accompanied by his wife, he used to carry out his household fires (पञ्चाग्नि) with her and used to observe calmly the different forms of austerities in the forest[3] The most significant among the austerities was the Pañchamahāyajña (पञ्चमहायज्ञ) which a forest-dweller was enjoined to do,[4] though it was essential for the householder as well. However, one used to embrace the Vānaprastha Āśrama in order to complete the religious duties which could not be performed as a householder and for this

1. *Hindu Law and Custom*, by Jolly, p. 155.
2. *Manu*, VI. 2.
3. *Ibid*, VI. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, VI. 5.

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purpose forest was regarded as the most suitable place for the observance of the different forms of austerities meant for a Vānaprasthī. According to Manu, a forest dweller had to expose himself to five fires during summer, he had to live under the open sky during the rains and during winter season he had to dress himself in wet clothes. This was really a very severe type of austerity which a forest-dweller (वानप्रस्थी) had to perform[1] There were certain other rules of discipline which a forest-dweller (वानप्रस्थी) had to observe. It was laid down by Manu that a Vānaprasthī must take bath thrice a day and each time after bath he should offer oblations to God, sage and his ancestor[2]

Certain restrictions were also imposed with regard to their nature of food. They were not permitted to take honey, meat, things grown on cow-dung, Sigruka (a kind of vegetable), grain grown on cultivated land, roots and fruits grown on village lands and various other similar things.[3] As means of livelihood, a Vānaprasthī was allowed to beg his food but that also only from a Brāhmaṇa.[4] But it was desirable for him to sustain his life upon fruits, flowers and roots of the forest itself.[5]

A Vānaprasthī was further enjoined to devote himself daily to his study (of the Vedas), to be kind to all creatures, to give gifts daily but should not himself accept gifts.[6] In this way by doing hard and difficult

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1. *Manu*, VI. 23.also cf. VI. 9, 10 and 29.
2. *Ibid*, VI. 24.
3. *Ibid*., IV. 14., and 16.
4. *Ibid*., VI, 27.
5. *Ibid*., VI. 21.
6. *Ibid*., VI. 8 and 13.

works and by following the strict vow of continence, he used to achieve the Brahma-Loka.[1]

Sannyāsa Āśrama.

After the Vānaprastha one used to embrace the Sannyāsa Āśrama. This was the last stage of a man's life. Unlike the Vānaprasthī, a Sannyāsī used to renounce the world completely. Manu says,

वनेषु च विहृत्यैवं तृतीयं भागमायुषः।
चतुर्थमायुषो भागं त्यक्त्वा सङ्गान्परिव्रजेत् ।[2]

i. e having spent the third stage of life in a forest (as a Vānaprasthī) one should embrace the Sannyāsa during the last stage of his life, after completely giving up his attachment for worldly pleasures. Manu says,

"अधीत्य विधिवद्वेदान्पुत्रांश्चोत्पाद्य धर्मतः।
इष्ट्वा च शक्तितो यज्ञैर्मनो मोक्षे निवेशयेत् ॥[3]

i e. after having studied the Vedas properly, having sons according to the sacred injunctions and having performed sacrifices according to one's own capacity, he may fix up his mind in meditation as an ascetic for the liberation of his soul. One used to depart from his house to become an ascetic after granting safety (Abhaya) to all human beings.[4] A Sannyāsī was enjoined to remain shaven-headed with his beard and nails also clipped and he used to carry a water-pot i. e., Kamaṇḍalu, an alms bowl and a staff (made up of three bamboos tied together).[5] He was to wear

1. *Manu*, VI, 32.
2. *Ibid.*, VI. 33.
3 *Manu*, VI. 36.
4. *Ibid.*, VI. 39.
5. *Ibid.*, VI. 52.

coarse and worn out garments.[1] These were some of the special signs of a Sannyāsī.

A Sannyāsī was not allowed to use vessels made up of metal and that the vessels which he would use should be free from any breakage or fracture.[2] According to Manu, his vessel, probably for receiving alms, was to be either a gourd or a wooden bowl or an earthen ware.[3]

A Sannyāsī was required to give up the household fire, was to be firm of purpose and must keep himself always engaged in meditation for the liberation of his soul[4] A great emphasis was laid down on his deep meditation for achieving the spiritual merit and also upon his full detachment from the worldly objects[5] In order to achieve his end, a Sannyāsī had to remain always alone completely detached from the society or companions.[6] Various other statements of Manu also tend to suggest that the ultimate end of a Sannyāsī was to achieve the final liberation of his soul and for which he had to observe severe rules of discipline[7]

The Parivrājaka, Bhikshu and Muni spent their lives as Sannyāsī. They were one and the same type of persons known by different appellations but devoted to a common object of life, namely the final emancipation of life. There were various types of Parivrājaka Patañjali refers to a "Maskari" Parivrājaka.[8] According

1. *Manu*, VI. 44.
2. *Ibid.*, VI. 53.
3. *Ibid.*, VI. 54.
4. *Ibid.*, VI. 43.
5. *Ibid.*, VI. 49.
6. *Ibid.*, VI. 42, 43 and 59.
7. *Ibid.*, VI. 35. 38, 41, 44, 46-48, 51, 55, 56, 59 and 60.
8. Patañjali on Pāṇini, VI. 1. 154.

to the Sanskrit-English dictionary by Monier Williams (p, 794) a Maskari was a religious Hindu mendicant (probably Brāhmaṇa by caste) who carried a bamboo cane. Generally 'Parivrājaka' stood for a Buddhist monk but the above example suggests that it also included a Hindu mendicant A Hindu Parivrājaka used to carry a staff made up of three bamboos tied together and so he was known as त्रिविष्टब्धक परिव्राजक (त्रिदण्डी).[1] That among the Hindu society, women also could become a Sannyāsinī (Parivrājikā) may be inferred from the following statement of Patañjali who says, शमि संज्ञायां धातोरज्भवतीत्यस्यावकाशः । शंवदः शंभवः । टस्यावकाशः । श्राद्धकरः । पिण्डकरः । शंकरा नाम परिव्राजिका शंकरा शकुनिका तच्छीला च तस्यामुभयं प्राप्नोति ।[2] Here the names of the Parivrājikā appear to be Hindu names and so it may be inferred from it that women also in the Hindu society were becoming Sannyāsinī. In the Buddhist society, the institution of Nunery had become so much well established that some girls were taking up the life of a nun even from their very childhood ; and probably because of its great popularity in the Hindu society as well, a special rule in grammar was also coined by Pāṇini. The rule is "कुमारःश्रमणादिभिः ।"[3]

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1. **Patañjali on Pāṇini, III. 2. 124. also cf. II. 1. 1.**
2. ***Ibid.*, III. 2. 14.**
3. **Pāṇini, II. 1. 70.**

CHAPTER XII

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

We have at our disposal very meagre data to know in full details about the dress and ornaments of the people during the period under survey. The literature of this period also supplies us with very few materials on this topic. We have, therefore, to depend much upon the archaeological finds such as sculptures and terracotta figurines which have come to light during the excavations at Kumhrar, Bulandibagh, Patna proper and Lauriyā Nandangarh and which throw light upon the dress and ornaments of the people. The carved sculptures of the stone Railings at Bodh-Gayā also throw some light on the subject. Let us now make a general survey of the dress and ornaments used by the peple in those days with the help of whatever little material we have at our disposal.

Dress.

The dress of the people normally consisted of two types, namely, (1) Undergarment i. e. वस्त्रान्तराणाम् and Upper-garment i. e. परिधान । The clothes were either coloured or plain. Reference has also been made to coloured clothes as well as to dyer.[1] On certain ceremonious occasions the use of the red clothes was probably considered to be very auspicious by the society. In the *Mahābhaṣya* of Patañjali it is stated that 'Ṛitvijs' wearing red turbans are seen moving[2] This

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 2. 29. ; IV. 2. 1 also Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. III, p 194.
2. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 1. 27. लोहितोष्णीषा ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्ति ।

statement of Patañjali may very well suggest that on certain ceremonious occasions priests had to wear turbans which were to be red in colour. The use of turban or an elaborate head-dress was probably very common in the society, for the stone images and the terracotta figurines of this period display a wide variety of head-dresses.

Quite a large number of terracotta figurines discovered quite recently in the excavation at Kumhrar (Patna) and belonging to the period under review display a wide variety of head-dress. The Fig. 6 of Plate I shows a head-dress which is composed of side-rolls with a central boss stamped with a floral design. In Fig. 1 of Plate II (which consists of a moulded plaque of four figurines) a man sitting on a low seat and offering certain object by his right hand to a woman, is wearing a Pugree i. e. turban. Fig. 2 of Plate I is wearing a helmet-shaped cap which is coiled at the top. The Fig. 1 of Plate I[1] has also a helmet-shaped cap (but not coiled at the top). Quite similar to this is the head-dress of Fig. 4 of Plate I which is peak-shaped head-dress.[2] High conical head-gear were also in use.[3] These types of head-dresses are very significant for they were worn by the Indo-Scythians. This may, therefore, suggest a scythianic influence over the Indian costumes during this period Fig 3 of Plate I is having a flat head-dress. That people used folded turban with hair beneath it is revealed by a terracotta head-having a folded turban

1. Also cf. "*Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*", 1965, pp. 334 and 336; No. 6970 and 7084.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 216 and 336; Arch. Register No. 4304 & 7019.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 248, 330 and 335; Arch. Register No. 4351, 4352, 4355, 4373, 7230 and 7207.

and hair beneath it.[1] Another variety of head-dress consists of a piece of cloth with a round rim against the high forehead and supported by a framework which it exceeds in length. The loose part of the cloth extends with deep folds around the frame and towards the back.[2] Another terracotta figurine depicts an elaborate head-dress where the hair is arranged in a zigzag against the forehead The ribbon is ornamental with palmetted Vajra-like devices. Each flat and ornamental ribbon runs along on a round pad underlying it.[3] The other variety of head-dress prevalent among the people is depicted by a terracotta bust where the head-dress consists of lateral wings and plaques.[4] A terracotta bust from a plaque also reveals a different variety of headdress where the hair is coiled in strands around the left horn.[5] Another terracotta head of a smiling boy has got two cornered headdress, covered by a piece of cloth fastened at the back and showing wavy edge.[6] A terracotta head displays double head-wear with two lateral plaques affixed[7] Another terracotta bust shows tresses affixed on back and held together by a band[8] Sometimes the head-dress was decorated with flowers as is revealed by a terracotta bust showing head-dress adorned with flowers and triple device of which the central staff ends

1. "*Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities,*" 1965, pp. 196, 210, 246, 330, 332, 335 and 25; Arch. Register No. 8502, 8540, 8541, 112, 4356, 7823, 7811, 7123 and 4438
2. *Ibid*., pp. 201 and 202; Arch. Register No. 8508 & 4183.
3. *Ibid*., pp 203; Arch Register No. 4420.
4. *Ibid*., pp. 206, 208, 209, 329, 229; Arch. Register No. 4210, 8524, 4225, 4232, 7805, 4234 and 8860.
5. *Ibid*., p 206, Arch. Register No. 8525.
6. *Ibid* , p. 208; Plate XL; Arch. Register No. 4226.
7. *Ibid*., p. 226; Arch. Register No. 9343.
8. *Ibid*., p. 226; Arch. Register No. 6070 and 9455.

in four petalled flowers.[1] There was, however, the other way also of decorating the head and forehead. A terracotta bust depicts a head-dress consisting of pad around the head, a flat and broad band above this and the broad and the flat top filled by a six petalled arrangements in high relief.[2] In a terracotta female figurine, the hair is dressed in top knot and two lateral chignons behind and around appear like fan-shaped wings.[3] Quite peculiar is the head-dress of a terracotta bust of a male figurine with bamboo window-shaped (Gavāksha) head-dress with a central small ball.[4]

The carved sculptures on the stone Railings at Bodh-Gayā which belong to the Śuṅga-Kushāṇa period also throw some light on the various types of head-dress prevalent during that period Now for example, figure of Yakshī in two stone pillars[5] is wearing a very elaborate head-dress arranged in a spiral top knot with hair beneath it and having an ornamental device. A bust of a girl in one of the medallions of the Bodh-Gayā Railings also depicts a very elaborate head-dress arranged in two lateral knots, the left one being some what bigger than the right one.[6]

Besides the above mentioned variety of head-dresses, there was still another type of head-dress

1. "*Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*", 1965, pp. 227 and 329; Arch. Register No. 6072 & 7179.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 263; Arch. Register No. 6314.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 328; Arch. Register No. 7808.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 334; Arch. Register No. 6969,
5. The two stone pillars in question belong to the Śuṅga period on stylistic ground and at present are exhibited in the Govt of India Archaeological Museum Bodh-Gaya and bear the Accesion No. 48 and 46. Fig 1 of Plate III. also cf. Fig. 1 of Plate IV.
6. Bust of a girl of Bodh-Gayā Railings; also cf. Fig. 1 of Plate V.

known as 'किरीट,' the reference of which has been made by Patañjali.[1] It was probably a kind of Crown made of some metal, most probably of gold. This type of head-drees might be in use in royal families because ordinary people could not afford to possess it. So far the head-dress of women is concerned, generally their elaborate and beautiful hair on their heads served the purpose of head-dresses[2] In a few cases, however, we find them using additional head-dress.[3] Sometimes women used to adorn their hair with ornaments for keeping them in order[4] The fashion of wearing ornaments on the head was coming down from the Vedic times At one place in the Atharvaveda it is mentioned, कुरीरमस्य शीर्षणि कुम्भं चाधिनिदध्मसि ।[5] Kurīra and Kumbha were the two kinds of ornaments worn on the head In this connections Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh observes, "The terracotta male figurines of the pre-mauryan period used to tie their hair in Knots. This sort of hair dressing is known as Kaparda. In Buxar, it is always in front. At Pāṭaliputra it is on the left." [6] This fashion of keeping hair on the head continued to exist in later periods also The excavations at the mound of Nandangarh in Bihar

1. Patañjali on Pānini, I. 3 2.
2. cf Plate III of '*The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*' by A. S. Altekar
3. Vide : Plate XXIIm of *A. S I., A R.*, 1935-36. Here there is an additional head-dress (besides her hair) which quite resembles an Indian Pugree. also cf. '*Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th. Oriental Conference*', pp 714. no. h, Here a piece of cloth is tied round the head which stands for the head-dress.
4. Vide . Plate XXII Fig O & m of *A. S. I., A. R*, 1935-36.
5. Vide : *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization* by A. S. Altekar, pp. 359.
6. Vide : *Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th Oriental Conference*, pp. 709.

yielded a good number of terracotta female figurines.[1] On the basis of style, technique and stratification, some of them have been placed in the Śuṅga period. A few among them show a fine arrangement of hair on the head. In one of them, the hair on the head is twisted one another and is tied in front of the forehead.[2] In style it is very similar to that of Buxar figurines where the hair is also tied in front in most of them. In another terracotta female figurine from the same place, the two locks of hair are hanging on both sides of the shoulders.[3]

The fashion of hair keeping may also be inferred from a statement of Patañjali. He says चुञ्चुप्चणपोश्च कारस्य प्रेतिषेधो वक्तव्य: । केशचुञ्चु: केशचण:[4] i. e. famous for long hair Again he says समाहाश्चुडा अस्य केशचुड:[5]. From this statement of Patañjali it may be inferred that there was probably a fashion of keeping hair. As a matter of fact it is natural for a woman to keep hair on head as the beauty of her person also lies on her hair on head. Hence the fact that woman of the early times kept hair on the head should not be regarded as anything novel. But the novelty probably lay in the arrangement of their hair which in most of the cases used to enhance their beauty all the more.

Women used a sort of lower garment which has been referred to by Patañjali as शाटक[6] or in other words it may mean the 'Śāree' of to-day. The manner in which the lower garment was worn by the females in

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1 *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936–37, p. 50; 1935–36, p. 64.
2. Plate XXII. fig. 9 of *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936–37. pp. 64.
3. Plate XXIIm of *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936–37, p. 50.
4. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 2. 24.
5. *Ibid.*,
6. *Ibid.*, I. 3. 12.

those days may be known from the terracotta and the stone sculptures of the periods under review.

One terracotta female figurine discovered in the excavations at Kumhrār is wearing a Śāree with folds drawn on the sides and supported by a jewelled girdle.[1] The girdle round the loins probably for the support of the lower garment might have been commonly used by the females, for invariably female figures both in terracotta and stone are seen wearing it.[2] The lower garment sometimes were worn in the form of a skirt. One terracotta female figurine has got a skirt-like arrangement of the lowei garment On the right it bulges laterally supported by a framework which is seen underneath, standing across the thighs, the skirt clings to the left thigh and flutters away above the knee, giving to the whole of the upper skirt a wide curve. The underskirt reaches to the right ankle and clings to the right leg.[3] In another terracotta figurine,[4] the fluttering skirt is shown on either side, no fold is indicated on the left and the waving hem is folded back. The lower part of the skirt clings to the body and is tucked up in a triangular piece at the waist. Again in one of the terracotta female figurines,[5] the skirt clings transparently to the legs, its end is gatheied in folds at the back and flutters wide on the right side with folds of gieat depth and a wavy outline In another, a diagonally incised line marks the folds of the draped garment along the legs to the ankles and

1. Plale I, fig, 6.
2. Plate II fig. 1; Pl. III fig 1; Pl. IV. fig. 1.
3. Vide : *"Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities"*, 1965, pp. 201 and 328. Arch. Register No 4181 and 7808. Pl. XXXIX.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 201 ; Arch. Register No. 8508.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 202. Arch. Register No. 8510. Pl. XXXIX.

entered over the framework on the right in the middle. (Arch. Reg · 4222.). One terracotta plaque of female figure has got a bunched skirt arrangement with thin folds markings.[1] One standing terracotta female figure is wearing a thin lower garment visible only by the lines incised at the waist and another on thighs.[2] In another terracotta plaque of a female figure thin and folded skirt plays round the ankles.[3] Sometimes the skirt also hangs down broad on either side of legs.[4] A few of the terracotta female figurines[5] are dressed in a bulged out Gown which appears quite similar to the lower garment of a female. Another terracotta female figure wears a close fitting garment and a bodice[6] Let us now examine the upper garment of the females.

Bodice was probably the common dress in the category of upper garments of the females. One terracotta female figurine discovered in the excavation at Baśārh[7] is wearing a tight fitting bodice over the slender waist which is decorated with vertical pleats of the body itself In another one of the terracotta female figures,[8] her breasts are covered by a cloth wrapped round. This may be nothing else than a bodice Sometimes the shoulders were also covered with cloth. There is a terracotta figurine which has got a cloth Covering both

1. *"Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities,"* 1965, pp. 228. Arch. Reg. No. 7996.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 247 and 331. Arch. Register No. 4369, also cf. 7820.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 329. Arch. Reg. No. 7804.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 330. Arch Reg. No. 6854.
5. Plate XXII. fig. O & m of *A. S. I*, *A. R.*, 1935-36.
6. Plate XXII, m of *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1935-36, pp. 64.
7. Plate XLIVC no. 700 of *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1913-14, p. 117.
8. Vide : *"Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities"*, 1965, pp. 199 and 204. Arch. Reg. No. 4177 and 4200. Pl. XLI.

on the arms and the shoulders and falls like a cloak on either side at the back and gives much movement to figurine.[1] In another terracotta figurine, heavy garland like flat cloth is affixed from shoulders to waist-belt which it partly covers.[2]

In a terracotta plaque a female figure with a veil gathered into a point at top of her head has got a cloth (Dupaṭṭa) stretched across her shoulders and also covers her breasts.[3] Another plaque of a female figure with cloth round head has got a Chādar like cloth which tightly envelops her shoulders, breasts and arms.[4] Sometimes breasts were covered with folded scarf like cloth.[5] With regard to the female dress, the other point now to be considered is that whether the Śāree was worn in the Vikachhā or Sakachhā fashion. In this connection, it may, however, be pointed out that in every part of India the fashion of wearing the Śāree was not uniformly followed by the Indian women If the Sakachhā fashion was prevalent at one particular place, there was the Vikachhā fashion at another place. In Bihar, however, the Vikachhā fashion of wearing the Śāree was in vogue.[6] This fashion may clearly be seen in the famous Didarganj Yakshī image[7] which no doubt belongs to the Mauryan period but it is presumed that the same fashion might have been continued in the later periods also, and that even

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1. *"Patna Museum Catalague of Antiquities,"* 1965, p. 226. Arch. Register No. 8859. Plate XLII.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 228. Arch. Register No. 8858.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 228 Arch. Register No. 6075. Plate XLII.
4. *Ibid* , p. 228. Arch, Register No. 7996.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 329. Arch. Register No. 7804.
6. This fashion was probably in vogue through out the Gangetic valley plains.
7. Discovered in Patna City in Mohalla Didārganj and at present exhibited in the Patna Museum.

to-day women of this region are following the same pattern. A. S. Altekar on the basis of a vast majority of statues of Tārā,[1] Māyā, Mahishāsūramardinī, female attendants on Vishṇu images and a few others discovered at places like U. P., Bihar, Bengal and Orissa maintains that the Vikachhā fashion of wearing Śāree continued to be in vogue throughout the ancient and mediaeval periods in the places mentioned above.

So far the dress of males are concerned, they used to wear Dhoti which hang down from near the waist and displayed in various folds in an artistic manner.[2] Sometimes Dhoti was dressed in a very peculiar manner which represented more or less a sort of Ghangharā.[3] Men also wore loin clothes like the women[4]

Nature of Cloth.

That cotton cloth must be in general use of the people, admits of no doubt. But woolen clothes were also used by the people Reference has been made to the use of woolen clothes in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Patañjali says "कुतपवासा: सौश्रुत: कुतपसौश्रुत:" [5] which means 'he is that Brāhmaṇa (Sauśruta) who is clad in woolen clothes. Among the woollen clothes rugs seem to have been commonly used by the people, for at many a place in the *Mahābhāṣya* reference has been made to rugs [6]

1. Now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Vide : illustrated plates in the book *'The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization'*, by A. S. Altekar.
2. Plate I, Fig. 9.
3. Plate I, Fig. 10,
4. Plate II. male figure sitting on a low seat and offering some object by his right hand to a woman seated and facing him.
5. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 1. 69 (8).
6. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 3. 11 ; I. 4. 49 ; II. 1. 1 ; II. 1. 51 ; II. 2. 6 ; III. 1. 105.

People were using stitched clothes. In the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali we clearly get a reference to a needle and also to the process of sewing [1] Patañjali at one place also says पुनरुत्स्युतं वासो देयम् ।[2] i. e. stitched clothes should be given again. This clearly suggests that people were using stitched clothes. As a matter of fact the art of sewing cloth with a needle was known to people as early as in the Vedic period At one place in the *Ṛigveda* it is mentioned सीव्यत्वपः सूच्याऽच्छिद्यमानया ।[3] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* also refers to the art of sewing cloth with a needle. It says, यथा सूच्या वास. संदधीयात् । एवमेव एतभियंशस्यच्छिद्रं संदधेत् ।[4] On the basis of *Vinaya Piṭaka* Altekar has pointed out that monks were not allowed by Buddha to do sewing works for nuns.[5]

Ornaments.

From the very early times, ornaments were in general use among both men and women Their craze for ornaments was so great and varied that they used various types of ornaments for the different parts of their body In the Vedic literature we are made familiar with a large variety of ornaments There were bangles for hands and feet, rings for fingers, necklaces for the neck, ear-rings (Karṇa Śobhana), Kumbha and Kurīra for the head and there were

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1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 1 2 (4). तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीव्यन् ।
2, *Ibid.*, II 1. 3.
3. *Ṛigveda*, II. 32. 4. also cf. *'The Position of Women in Hindu Civilizatian'* by A. S. Altekar, p. 350, footnote.
4. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* III. 18. also cf. *'The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization,'* by A. S. Altekar, pp. 351. footnote.
5. Vide : *'The Position Women in Hindu Civilization'*, by A. S. Altekar, pp. 351, footnote.

some ornaments also for the shoulders.[1] These types of ornaments however, continued to be in vogue during the post Mauryan period, for we get reference about their use in the contemporary literature and as a sort of direct evidence, the terracotta and the stone figurines of the period are found wearing ornaments of various types and designs. From a study of these figurines it will thus appear that ornaments were in common use among the people. So far the reference in the contemporary literature is concerned, we get a few references in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Patañjali refers to the following types of ornaments used by the people in those days. At one place it is mentioned "देवदत्तं मे भवानुद्दिशत्विति। स इहस्थः पाटलिपुत्रस्थं देवदत्तमुद्दिशति। अङ्गदी, कुण्डली, किरीटी, व्यूढोरस्को वृत्तबाहुर्लोहिताक्षस्तुङ्गनासो विचित्राभरण ईदृशो देवदत्त इति।"[2] Here at least three types of ornaments are referred to. Aṅgada was an ornament for the arm It was, therefoie, a kind of armlet. Kuṇḍala was an ear ornament and the Kirīṭa was a sort of crown. Though the taste for ornament is generally found among women but men had also developed a taste for ornaments. This is corroborated by the terracotta figurines (male) discovered during the course of excavations at various places like Kumhrār, Patna proper, Lauriyā Nandangarh, Bulandibagh, etc. Stone sculptures too corroborate the same thing. Let us now study in general the various types of ornaments used both by men and women.

Excavations at the foot of a huge mound at Nandangarh in Bihar brought to light a few fine

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1. Vide : *'The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization'*, by A. S. Altekar pp. 358-59. also cf. *Ṛgveda* V. 54. 11 ; I. 168. 3 ; I. 122. 14 & VI. 138. 3.
2. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 3. 2. & II. 3. 13.

specimens of terracotta female figurines,[1] where the ornaments of women are better revealed. In one of the figurines, a woman is bedecked with a good number of ornaments in which a girdle with a chain of beads hanging in front round her loins is remarkably displayed.[2] Another terracotta female figurine shows a disc-shaped ornament for the head, a necklace probably of pearls hangs down in front and a few bangles adorn the two hands.[3] Plate XXIIm in *A. S. I., A. R.,* 1935-36 depicts a woman wearing ear-ring.[4] In plate XXIIg of *A. S I., A. R.,* 1935-36 a woman is wearing a girdle round her loins and some ornaments are also seen on her feet. The use of necklace, ear-rings and ear-plugs of various designs, wristlet, bangles, girdle, armlet by the females is also corroborated by other terracotta [5] and stone figures.[6] In this connection, however, it is important to note that among the ornaments used by women, the nose ornament is conspicuous by its absence. In this connection Altekar[7] has observed 'At Udayagiri and Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa, at Bodh-Gayā and Patna in Bihar, at Bhārhut and Sānchi in Central India, at Mathurā in U. P., at Taxilā in the Punjāb, at Ajantā, Elora and Badāmī in the Deccan, at Amrāvatī in Madras Presidency, we have found several sculptures

1. Ranging in date from 1st. century A. D. to 2nd. century A. D.
2. Plate XXIIg of A *S. I*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 66.
3. Plate XXII. fig. O of *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1935-36, p. 66.
4. Cf. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, by A. S. Altekar, pp. 363-64. Pl. III. A & B.
5. Terracotta figurines discovered earlier from various parts of Bihar and at present exhibited in the Patna Museum and those which have been recently discovered from the excavations at Kumhrar (Patna).
6. Stone sculptures kept in the Patna Museum and in the Archaeological Museum at Bodh-Gaya.
7. Vide : The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, by A. S. Altekar, pp. 363-64.

and paintings of women who are over loaded with a rich variety of ornaments all over their body. The nose-ring is, however, nowhere to be seen. These sculptures and paintings are spread over almost all the centuries of the first millennium of the christian era. It is, therefore, clear that the nose-ring was unknown throughout the whole of India during the entire Hindu period. Hindu sculptures of Puri and Rajputānā of the post Muslim period begin to show the nose-ring for the first time Both the positive and the negative evidence thus shows that tne nose-ring is not a Hindu ornament. It seems to have been clearly borrowed from the Mohammadens'

In the group of ornaments made of copper and bronze which have been found at Kumhrār comprise wrist bangles, bracelets, ear-rings, finger-rings and ear pendants. The most common form of bracelet is plain circlet of wire with opening on one side, so that the bangle could be expanded when slipping it on the wrist. The commonest ear-ring is plain circlet like bracelets with one side pointed and the other having a loop so that it may be fixed there. The finger ring is very simple and plain without any design or pattern and they occur from the period c.150 B. C. to 100 A. D.

Although the following articles viz., antimony rods, ear cleaners and tooth picks all in copper discovered at Kumhrār excavations do not come under the category of ornaments, but since these were used in decorating the person, they are therefore, being referred to here.

The antimony rods, ear-cleaners and tooth-picks are classified together as any two of them are frequently combined together. They take the form of short rod of copper, bone, ivory, etc. but these found at Kumhrār are all in copper. When used for putting the collyrium

in the eye, the rod is slightly clubbed, when used as nail-cleaner or tooth-pick it is pointed; when used as an ear-cleaner it has a tiny scoop. Some of these rods are clubbed at both ends, others have a club at one end and a point at the other. Antimony rods (or Kohl sticks) were used in Egypt and the west from a very ancient age. The clubbed antimony rods were used for ordinary paintings under the eyes with lamp-black.

CHAPTER XIII

FOOD AND DRINK

Food is an essential thing for life. The barbarous or the civilized state of a man's life can be determined to some extent by the nature of food he takes. In modern times generally we take cooked food. The food becomes tasteful by the process of cooking. Milk for example is not taken only in the form of milk but its various products such as Ghee, Curd, Khira, Butter, Chhenā or cheese, etc. are also taken. Agricultural products such as rice, pulse, gram, wheat, etc. also form our food-stuff Meat eating is very common among the people. Liquor is also in use. During the periods under review also, people were quite familiar with the above mentioned food. An important item of food of the people in those days was probably the flesh of animals or birds. Patañjali says, अभोक्ष्यत भवान्मांसेन यदि मत्समीप आसिष्येति ।[1] Here the reference to meat eating is clearly mentioned.[2] From another statement of Patañjali noted below it may be inferred that it was perhaps customary to offer meat to a guest or in other words it may be said that a guest was usually entertained with meat.[3] The following statements of Manu also lead to the same conclusion that people were taking meat although in an idealistic vein Manu did not recommend meat-eating to the people but this, however, appears to be far from reality. Manu says,

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1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, III. 3. 139.
2. *Ibid.*, I. 3. 1 ; V. 1. 19 ; also cf. ***Milindapañho*** in *S B. E.* **XXXVI, Pt. II, p. 152.**
3. **वस्ने वधनाम्निस्तृमिति चेन्मांसौदनिकाद्विष्वप्राप्ति मांसौदनिकोऽतिथिः ।**

वर्षे वर्षेऽश्वमेधेन यो यजेत शतं समाः ।
मांसानि च न खादेद्यस्तयोः पुण्यफलं समम् ॥[1]
फलमूलाशनैर्मेध्यैर्मुन्यन्नानां च भोजनैः ।
न तत्फलमवाप्नोति यन्मांसपरिवर्जनात् ॥[2]
मा स भक्षयिताऽमुत्र यस्य मांसमिहाद्म्यहम् ।
एतान्मांसस्य मांसत्वं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥[3]
समुत्पत्तिं च मांसस्य वधबन्धौ च देहिनाम् ।
प्रसमीक्ष्य निवर्तेत सर्वमांसस्य भक्षणात् ॥[4]

With regard to the animal and birds whose flesh was taken by the people, it may be pointed out that the flesh of cock and hog was no doubt taken but not of the domesticated village cock and hog as will appear from the statement of Patañjali who says, अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्य-कुक्कुटो, अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यशूकर इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतदारण्यो भक्ष्य इति ।[5] This statement leads to the inference that people could take the flesh of a wild cock and hog People were also taking the flesh of deer for at one place Patañjali says, मांसौदनाय व्याहरति मृगः ।[6] According to Patañjali flesh of cow i. e. beef was not taken by the people. He says, यथा तर्हि तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं मांस न विक्रेतव्यमिति व्यपवृक्तं च न विक्रीयतेऽव्यपवृक्तं च गावश्च सर्षपाश्च विक्रीयन्ते ।[7] This statement of Patañjali suggests that cow in parts or the flesh of cow was not recommended for sale, and as a corolary it may be pointed out that beef eating was disapproved by the society. The flesh of dog was also not fit for consumption as can be inferred from the following statements of Patañjali. He says,

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1. *Manu*, V. 53.
2. *Ibid.*, V. 54.
3. *Ibid.*, V. 55.
4. *Ibid.*, V. 49.
5. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I. pp. 5 & 8.
6. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 3. 13.
7. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I. p. 25, line, 9.

भक्ष्यं च नाम क्षुत्प्रतीघातार्थमुपादीयते
शक्यं चानेन श्वमांसादिभिरपि क्षुत्प्रतिहन्तुम्
तत्र नियमः क्रियते इदं भक्ष्यमिदमभक्ष्यमिति ।[1]

i. e. if it means that from which hunger can be satisfied is called eating, then in that case the meat of dog can also satisfy the hunger. Hence there was the rule as to the article which should be taken and which not.

Fish was usually taken. Patañjali says, कश्चिन्मांसार्थी मत्स्यान्सशकलान्सकण्टकानाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात् स यावदादेयं तावदादाय शकलकण्टकान्युत्सृजति ।[2] Manu also puts before us a long list of birds, the flesh of which was unfit to be eaten. The birds that live on raw flesh (such as vultures) or that dwell in a village such as pigeons, sparrow, goose, village cock, parrot, buck, Papiha, chakravāka, mainā, Rajjuvala, birds that scratch a thing with their nails for food, birds whose leg fingers are attached together, birds that take fish from water and also birds like bataka, Kakola, Kanjan, etc. were all unfit to be taken.[3]

In the other items of foodstuffs mention may be made of the agricultural products like rice, pulse, barley, etc.[4] Which might have been the general foodstuff of the common people. In this connection it is significant to note that among the agricultural products wheat is conspicuous by its absence. In those days barley was perhaps occupying the place of wheat.

Milk was also an item of food of the people. People were taking milk not only in the form of milk but its various products such as Ghee, Curd, Khira, etc. were also taken.[5]

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1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 1. 1. (9).
2. Ibid., III. 3. 18.
3. *Manu.*, V. 11–14.
4. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 1. 1. & III. 1. 22.
5. *Ibid.*, I. 2. 45.

Use of liquor

From the very early times liquor was used. In the *Ṛigveda* mention has been made of two types of intoxicating drinks namely the Soma and Surā.[1] The Brāhmaṇic literature also refer to the use of liquor.[2] Various Dharmaśāstras also bear testimony to the use of liquor.[3] The Buddhist litarature too refers to the use of liquor. Thus according to the *Majjhima Nikāya*,[4] people of Aṅga and Magadha indulged themselves in merry making by taking wine and meat.

The custom of wine taking, however, continued to exist in the later periods also. During the post Mauryan period, Surā, Soma and Sidhu (a kind of rum) were the three types of liquor used by the people.[5] For selling these intoxicating drinks, there existed a liquor house. Patañjali says, शौण्ड: पिबति पानागारे ।[6] This statement of Patañjali clearly suggests the existence of a liquor shop and the existence of a liquor shop may suggest that liquor might be in greater use With regard to the two types of drinks namely Surā and Soma, P. V. Kane writes, "In the *Ṛigveda*, a distinction is made between Soma and Surā ('iquor), the former being an intoxicating drink reserved for being offeied as a sacred beverage to gods to be drunk by priests, while the latter seems to have been meant as a beverage for common person and not usually offered to gods.[7]

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1. *Ṛigveda*. 10. 34. 6; VII. 86. 6; and VIII. 2. 12.
2. *History of Dharmaśāstra* by P. V. Kane, Vol. II. pt. II. pp. 792–93.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 795–97.
4. Vide : *J. A. S. B.* 1925. Article No. 12, p. 137.
5. Patañjali on Pāṇini, III. 1. 94. & III. 2. 8.
6. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 1. 1.
7. Vide : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, by P. V. Kane. Vol. II. Pt. II. Chap. XXII, p. 792.

That during the period under review also Soma was considered to be a high class of drink and that it was not meant for every class of people may be inferred from the following statements of Patañjali. He says, दशपुरुषानूकं यस्य गृहे शूद्रा न विद्येरन्स सोमं पिबेदिति ।[1] i. e. only that person can drink 'Soma' in whose line of family there is no Śūdra for 10 generations. The above passage may, therefore, suggest that Soma drink was not meant for the Śūdra class. A Vṛishala or a Śūdra, however, was allowed to take Surā only. Patañjali says, वृषलरूपोऽयम् अप्य पलाण्डुना सुरां पिबेद् ।[2] i. e. to say Vṛishala would not mind taking Surā (wine) mixed with onion. Every one was not permitted to take wine or liquor. Brāhmaṇas specially their females were not allowed to take wine. Patañjali says,

या ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनां देवा· पतिलोकं नयन्ति
या ब्राह्मणी सुरापा भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति ।[3]

i. e. a Brāhmaṇa female who either drinks Surā or even sales it is debarred from going to her husbands place after death. According to *Vaśiṣtha Dharmasūtra*[4] also a Brāhmaṇa wife who drinks Surā is not allowed by the gods to reach the world of her husband after death and that she wanders in this world as a leach in water or as an oyster.[5] According to Manu wine was prohibited for a Brāhmaṇa.[6]

(2) *Pastimes and recreations.*

People were not lacking in the aesthetic sense. They knew fully well how to spend their leisure time

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 93.
2. Patañjali on Pāṇini, V, 3. 66.
3. Patañjali on Pāṇini, III. 2. 8 ; & III. 2. 3.
4. 21. 11.
5. Vide : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, by P. V. Kane, Vol. II. Pt. II. Chap. XXII. p. 792.
6. *Manu*, XI. 94 and 95.

in a good way. For the sake of amusements, dramatic performances were organised. Patañjali says, व्यञ्जनानि पुमनंटभार्यावदभवन्ति । तद्यथा । नटानां स्त्रियो रङ्गं गता यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यूयं कस्य यूयमिति तं तं तव तवेत्याहुः । एवं व्यञ्जमान्यपि यस्य यस्या च कार्यमुच्यते तं तं भजन्ते ।[1]

This statement of Patañjali clearly suggests the existence of an amphitheatre. It also reveals that women were free to take part in drama. In a drama, past events were also sometimes depicted on the stage, thereby making it quite interesting. Patañjali says, ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति ।[2] Here perhaps the reference is to the past events viz., the killing of Kaṁsa and Bali.

People also gambled perhaps for recreation sake but for some it had also become a source of livelihood.[3]

(3) *The Social morality.*

Society during the periods under review was not free from corruption. There were various social lapses. Women also sometimes went astray from the path of strict morality. Patañjali says, कन्यायाः कनीन च । इदं विप्रतिषिद्धम् । को विप्रतिषेधः । अपत्यमिति वर्तते । यदि च कन्या नापत्यमथापत्यं न कन्या । कन्या चापत्यं चेति विप्रतिषिद्धम् । नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धम् । कथम् । कन्या शब्दोऽयं पुंसाभिसम्बन्धपूर्वके संप्रयोगे निवर्तते । या चेदानीं प्रागभिसम्बन्धात्पुंसा सह संप्रयोगं गच्छति तस्या कन्या शब्दो वर्तते एव । कन्यायाः कन्योक्तायाः कन्याभिमतायाः सुदर्शनाया यदपत्यं स कानीन इति ।[4] This statement of Patañjali clearly reveals the social lapses in morality. Women even before they were married sometimes indulged secretly in sexual intercourse with a man but from outside they used to pretend that they were still

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 4. 29.
2. Patañjali on Pāṇini, III. 1. 26 (15).
3. Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 1. 10; II. 1. 1; II. 1. 40; & I, 4. 108.
4. Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV, 1. 116.

maidens (or so to say who still looked like maidens). Society was thus responsible for such social lapses. Whatever the case might be, the question, however, arises as to why such cases of loose morality were taking place in the society. Though the reason is not given any where, it may, however, be suggested that the marriage of women in those days were probably taking place in much advanced age and probably because of this reason that such moral lapses occurred in society.

Manu's laws of adultery also very well testify that there were lapses in social morality. According to him, if a Brāhmaṇa approaches unguarded women of the three lower Varṇas, he shall be fined 500 paṇas and for a similar crime against an antyaja woman, the fine is raised to a thousand Paṇas.[1] The same fine is imposed on a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya if he has intercourse with a guarded Śūdra woman.[2] Again if a Brāhmaṇa dallies with a Vṛishalī for a night, he removes that sin in three years by subsisting on alms and daily muttering sacred texts.[3] It may be admitted no doubt that these laws were meant to preserve the purity of the Brāhmaṇa by preventing moral lapses on his part; they, however, also make it clear that some protection was also given for the purity of the Śūdra woman as well.

Manu has prescribed most severe punishment for a Śūdra male adulterer. The Śūdras who has intercourse with an unguarded woman of the twice born caste shall lose the part offending and all his property; in case of such an offence against a guarded woman, he

1. *Manu.*, VIII, 385.
2. *Ibid.*, VIII. 383.
3. *Ibid.*, XI. 178.

shall lose everything, even his life.[1] Here the term twice born i. e. द्विजाति probably stands for the Brāhmaṇa only for there are two other rules which provide severe punishments for Kshatriya and Vaiśya offending a guarded and unguarded Brāhmaṇa woman.[2] All these instances are but clear cases of adultery in social morality—whether the punishment of the offenders was severe or not, it does not matter. But it definitely suggests that there were lapses in social morality.

There were some other evils also in the society of the period under survey. The social decorum was very often disturbed by miscreants like thieves and robbers. Patañjali says, इह चौरेभ्यस्त्रायते दस्युभ्यस्त्रायत इति। य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी सुहृद्भवति स पश्यति यदीमं चौरा पश्यन्ति ध्रुवमस्य वधबन्धनपरिक्लेशा इति। स बुद्ध्या संप्राप्य निवर्तयति।[3] This passage clearly suggests that there were thieves and robbers in the society who used to inflict pain upon persons by their evil actions. The presence of thieves is further revealed by the following passage occuring in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, ग्रामान्तरमयं गच्छश्चौरान्पश्यत्यहि लङ्घयति कण्टकान्मृद्नाति।[4]

(4) *Beggary in society.*

Certain passages in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali testify to the existence of beggary during this period. Patañjali writes, एवं हि दृश्यते लोके। भिक्षुकोऽयं द्वितीयां भिक्षामासाद्य पूर्वां न जहाति संचयाय प्रवर्तते। i. e. a certain beggar though receives alms for the second time, does not leave away the thing which he got in his first begging, but rather

1. *Manu*, VIII. 374.
2. *Ibid.*, VIII. 375–76.
3. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Vol. I. p. 328. Sūtra, I. 4. 25. Ed by F. Kielhorn.
4. Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. IV. 50.

stores them for future consumption. The inference may, therefore, be drawn that there were some professional beggars in the society who lived most probably only on begging as means of livelihood. Presence of beggars is further revealed by·Patañjali when he says, "भिक्षुका. सन्तीति स्थाल्यो नाधिश्रीयन्ते । Further, भिक्षादिषु हि णिजहस्यते । भिक्षा वासयन्ति-भिक्षाश्चापि प्रचुर्णं व्यञ्जनवत्यो लभ्यमाना वासं प्रयोजयन्ति ।"[1] i. e. when the beggars see the possibility of getting enough of vegetables and other eatable things, he stays at that place. This passage thus reveals that in the society, there were some poor section of people who probably depended merely upon begging. Beggaiy, therefore, seems to be very much deep rooted in the society of this period.

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1. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjalı, Vol. II, p. 33. Sūtra III. 1. 26. Ed. by F. Kielhorn.

C. RELIGIOUS CONDITION

of any other person is worshipped by the gods. He whose Liṅga, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Thon (Indra) with the deities, continually worship, is, therefore, the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's) nor the discus (Viṣṇu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's) but are marked with the male and female organs; therefore, offsprings are derived from Mahādeva. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause are marked with the female organ and all males are marked with the Liṅga of Hara."[1]

From the above observation it is quite clear that Liṅga cult had become well established by the epic times. The Purāṇas also throw enough of light upon this cult. There is specially a Purāṇa known as *Liṅga-Purāṇa* on this subject. It gives a vivid account of the Liṅga of Śiva and its importance attached thereto.

The Liṅga-cult continued to flourish during the period under survey. It is true, no doubt, that no reference has been made in the literature of the period to this cult, but that it was altogether unknown at this time, as maintained by R. G. Bhandarkar,[2] is untenable as shown by the subsequent researches based on the Archaeological finds. Archaeological data help us in making a positive statement regarding the prevalence of the Liṅga cult in Bihar during the post Mauryan period. The excavations at Lauriyā-Nandangarh[3] have yielded quite a large number of terracotta figurines belonging to the Śuṅga period. Stylistically

1. *J. B. R. S.* Vol. XL. Pt. 2, p. 173. also cf. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV. pp, 192-93.
2. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's '*Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*', p. 115. also cf., *The Religions of India* by A. P. Karmarkar, p. 79.
3. *A. S. I., A. R.,* 1935-36. (Chapter relating to the excavations at Lauriyā Nandangarh.)

At many a place in Bihar, there are Śiva temples (for example, the Kapileśvara temple in the Madhubani sub-division of the district of Darbhaṅgā, Kuśeśvara and Bāleśvara temple in the Samastipur sub-division of the district of Darbhaṅgā, Baṭeśvara temple in the Bhāgalpur sub-division of the district of Bhāgalpur, Singheśvara temple in the Madhepurā sub-division of the district of Bhāgalpur, and Vaidyanātha temple in the Deoghar sub-division of the district of Santhāla Parganā) where the figure of Śiva–liṅga only is worshipped. Among these temples, the history of the Vaidyanātha temple is very old going back to the times of the Purāṇas. A detailed account of this temple is, therefore, given below.

In Bihar, in the district of Santhāl Parganā, there is a Deoghar sub-division. Its sub-divisional town is also known as Vaidyanātha Dhāma. It is known as such owing to the existence of Śiva-liṅga designated as Vaidyanātha. People from different parts of India come to this place every year for worshipping the Śiva-liṅga. So it has become a seat of utmost religious importance. Its importance can be traced from very ancient times. From the *Śiva-Purāṇa* in the twenty eighth Adhyāya of चतुर्थी कोटि रुद्र संहिता we come to know how this place could become an important centre of the cult of Śiva-liṅga. It is said there that Rāvaṇa, the king of Ceylon wanted to bring Śiva from the Kailāśa mountain to his own place of abode as he felt that his capital would not be perfect without the presence of Śiva. Rāvaṇa, thus, in order to please lord Śiva offered Pūjā to Him for a long time. Still Lord Śiva was not propitiated. At last out of desperation and anger Rāvaṇa began to cut off his heads one by one and offered it to Lord Śiva. It was only when Rāvaṇa was about to cut off his tenth and his last head that

Lord Śiva appeared in person and disuaded him from doing so and also joined his severed heads. Śiva after a great request made by Rāvaṇa, however, agreed to give him his own "Jyotir-Liṅga" (one of the twelve emblems of Śiva) to carry it away to his capital on one condition that Rāvaṇa would not place this object any where on earth till he reached his capital, otherwise the Liṅga would remain fixed on that sopt for ever. Rāvaṇa agreed on this point and so Śiva gave his "Jyotir-Liṅga" to him. The gods when they knew of this agreement, got frightened as the presence of the "Jyotir-Liṅga" would make Laṅkā invincible. But fortunately enough what happened that when Rāvaṇa was carrying away the 'Jyotir-Liṅga' of lord Śiva from the Kailāśa mountain, he felt within himself a great urge of making water, as Varuṇa, the water-god had entered into his belly. And so he gave the Liṅga to a Brāhmaṇa passerby (who was none else than Vishṇu himself in guise of a Brāhmaṇa) to hold it for a few minutes while he would ease himself. But when Rāvaṇa made much delay in taking back the Liṅga from him, the Brāhmaṇa out of anger kept the Liṅga there on the earth and went away. When Rāvaṇa came back he found to his utter surprise that the Jyotir-liṅga had been firmly fixed on the earth and that he was unable to move it any way. Being disappointed, he used violence and broke the top part of the Liṅga. But soon he realised his folly and begged for pardon. He then worshipped the Liṅga with libations of sacred water brought from the source of the Ganges in the Himalayas. Henceforth this place became a sacred one. The place where the Liṅga was kept is now known as Deoghar and the Liṅga itself is designated as Vaidyanātha.

CHAPTER XIV

(1) *Linga-worship*

The Linga-cult or the phallic worship is very closely associated with Śaivism. The existence of this cult is traced back from the very early times. As early as the Ṛigvedic period it was found prevalent among the non-Aryans. In the Ṛigveda VII. 21. 5 and X. 99. 3., the non-Aryans are described as Śiśnadevas. Here the word Śiśnadeva (i. e whose god is Śiśna or the Liṅga) is used in a contemptuous manner. It may thus suggest that as the non-Aryans were the worshippers of Liṅga, they were looked down upon by the Aryans and they were thus beyond the pale of the Vedic society. Gradually, however, with the growth of new-Brahmanism, this cult got spread among the Aryan people also. During the epic times it had become a widely prevalent cult. Priyatosh Banerjee writes, "In the *Anuśāsana parva* we are told that Kṛishṇa proceeded to the Himalyas to propitiate Śiva to have a son for Jāmbavatī through Śiva's grace. On his way Kṛishṇa met Upamanyu, an ardent devotee of Śiva who acquainted him with the glories and attributes of the god (i. e. Śiva). To test his devotion, Mahādeva appeared before Upamanyu in the guise of Indra and offered to grant him a boon of his choice. The devoted Upamanyu refused to accept favour from any god other than Mahādeva and dwelt at length on the various attributes of Śiva and the reasons as to why he was regarded as the supreme creator. The following lines from Upamanyu's passionate speech are significant in this connection 'Is Iśā (Mahādeva) the cause of causes from any other reasons ? We have not heard that the Liṅga

Let us now deal with the various traditional forms of Yajñya and ritualistic paractices that were in vogue during the period under review.

(2) Brāhmaṇical sacrifices.

The period under review was a period of Brāhmaṇical revival and hence it was replete with various Brāhmaṇical rites and rituals in which sacrifices i. e. यज्ञs, were very important. People attached much more importance to यज्ञ than to any other Brāhmaṇical rituals. In the words of E W. Hopkins, "the sacrifice was" a means to enter into the god-head of the gods, and even to control the gods, a ceremony where every word pregnant with consequences, every movement, momentous."[1] The performance of sacrifices required the presence of a priest to conduct the sacrifices. Every one was not allowed to become the sacrificial priest. Only selected Brāhmaṇas could become so, because the performance of a sacrifice required a good knowledge of its minute details and its various technicalities. Even the pronunciation of a word in the sacrifice was highly significant. A slight mistake could do harm to the sacrificer The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* reveals how Tvashṭṛ suffered for mispronouncing 'Indra-śatru' as 'Indraśatru' whereby the meaning got changed from the conqueror of Indra to by Indra. Therefore only such persons were allowed to conduct the sacrifice who knew all the minute details and technicalities of the यज्ञ. The Ārtvijīna Brāhmaṇas were the only fit persons to become the sacrificial priest,[2] as they were well versed

1. *The Religions of India*, p. 188, by E. W. Hopkins.
2. यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां तत्कर्मार्हतीत्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्। ऋत्विक्कर्मार्हत्यार्त्विजीनं ब्राह्मणकुलमिति। (Vide : Patañjali on Pāṇini, V. 1. 71.).

with all the consonants and syllables[1] of the Vedas which mainly deal with the forms of sacrifices. Hence from this time the offices of the priesthood got firmly established and they acquired a dignified position in the society. The priests who used to conduct the sacrifice were not allowed to go away without any remuneration. Hence they used to get the sacrificial fees. [2] In such fees they generally received cows. [3]

There were three main types of sacrifices, namely, the Aśvamedha, Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifice. Besides these three, there were a few other minor sacrifices also enjoined mainly on the house-holders.

(a) Aśvamedha sacrifice

The performance of a Horse-sacrifice was known as Aśvamedha Yajña. According to the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra,* XV, 1, the Horse sacrifice used to be performed by a paramount Sovereign or in other words by a king who was very powerful and whose suzerainty was acceptable to all Thus as it appears, the Horse-sacrifice was meant only for a king. In this sacrifice, a horse was let loose to roam about for a year as a challenge to all opponents. If the horse came out un-challenged then the king used to perform a ceremony in which that horse was sacrificed. By doing so, the king then attained the status of a Sovereign. Hence the successful performance of a Horse sacrifice meant or implied the unchallenged sovereignty of a king.

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1. यो वा इमां पदशः स्वरशोऽक्षरशो वाचं विदधाति स आर्त्विजीनः। (Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 3.
2. आख्याग्रहणं किमर्थम्। तस्य दक्षिणा यज्ञेभ्य इतीयत्युच्यमाने य एव संज्ञीभूतका यज्ञास्तत उत्पत्तिः स्यात्। अग्निष्टोमिक्यः राजसूयिक्यः वाजपेयिक्यः। (Vide : *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 361.).
3. याजका यजन्ति गां कल्पयामह इति। (Vide : *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 293. Sūtra 1. 3. 72.).

According to the Ayodhyā-inscription, Pushyamitra Śuṅga had performed two Aśvamedha-Yajñyas.[1] According to the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali himself in one of the Yajñas had served Pushyamitra as his sacrificial priest.[2] Most probably, he might be the sacrificial priest at the time of the performance of the अश्वमेध यज्ञ by Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa also bears a testmony to a Horse-sacrifice being performed by Pushyamitra.[3] In that sacrifice Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra was made incharge of the sacrificial Horse which was unsuccessfully challenged by the Yavanas on the borders of lower Indus.

The performance of the Horse-sacrifice by Pushyamitra is generally regarded as a revival of Aśvamedha Yajña which was discontinued for a long time. This assumption is based on the following statement of the Harivaṁśa,

"औद्भिजो भविता कश्चित्सेनानीः काश्यपो द्विजः ।
अश्वमेधं कलियुगे पुनः प्रत्याहरिष्यति ॥[4]

The above passage means that a certain Brāhmaṇa Senānī of the Kāśyapa family will suddenly rise into power and he will again perform the Horse sacrifice in the Kali-Yuga. This Brāhmaṇa Senānī is identified by scholars with Pushyamitra Śuṅga If it is so then it means that king Pushyamitra Śuṅga was the reviver of Aśvamedha sacrifice which was for a long time not in use. Patañjali says, "नवयज्ञो वर्ततेऽस्मिन्काले नावयज्ञिकः ।"

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1. कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेधयाजिनः सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन कौशिकीपुत्रेण……केतनं कारितम् ।
2. इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः । (Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, edited by F. Kielhorn, Vol. II, page 123, Sūtra : III. 2. 123.).
3. Vide : *Mālavikāgnimitra*.–Act V, p. 105, edited by Mr. Kale 1st Ed. 1918. also cf. Act. V, p. 90.
4. *Bhaviṣya Parva*, ch. 2. Verse 40. Edited by Pandit R. Shāstri.

Here Patañjali probably is refering to the re-introduction of the Aśvamedha-sacrifice which was long in abeyance or in otherwords was not in vogue for a long time till the performance was made by Pushyamitra Śuṅga, and hence this type of sacrifice, most probably was then regarded as a new one (नावयज्ञिक:). However, this is just an assumption and not a certainty.

(b) Rājasūya-sacrifice.

According to the *Atharvaveda,*[1] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā,*[2] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,*[4] the Rājasūya sacrifice was a kind of ceremony connected with the Royal consecration. In this ceremony, the king is clothed in the ceremonial garments of his rank and is provided with bow and arrow as emblems of sovereignty. Formally anointed, he performs a mimic cow raid against a relative of his (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* V. 4 3. 1.) or engages in a sham fight with Rājanya (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā,* I. 8 15). A game of dice is played in which he is made to be the victim, he symbolically ascends the quarters of the sky as an indication of his universal rule; and steps on a tiger-skin thus gaining the strength and pre-eminence of the tiger. A list of consecrated kings is given in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[5] where the royal inauguration is called the great Unction (Mahābhiṣeka) connected with Indra. It corresponds generally with a list of Aśvamedhins, performers of the Horse sacrifice, given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[6] and the *Śāṅkhyāyana Śrauta*

1. IV. 8 1. & XI. 7. 7.
2. V. 6. 2. 1.
3. VII. 15. 8.
4. V. 1. 1. 12.
5. VIII. 21. 23.
6. XIII. 5. 4.

Sūtra.[1] In the ritual of the Rājasūya, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2] gives a whole series of terms: "Rājya, Samrājya, Bhāñjya, Svarājya, Vairājya, etc."[3]

In the *Harivaṁśa*, it is specifically mentioned that Horse and Rājasūya sacrifices will be performed again by the Brāhmaṇas (Kings) of the Kāśyapa Gotra in the Kaliyuga. Patañjali also in his *Mahābhāṣya*[4] has referred to the Vājapeya and Rājasuya sacrifices. These two sacrifices were connected with the Royal coronation. K. P. Jayaswal observes, "There is the first and foremost, the Rājasūya or the inauguration of a king; there is secondly, the Vājapeya used for consecrating a king or a high functionary as the Royal priest "[5] It is said 'राज्ञ एव राजसूयम् । राजावै राजसूयेनेष्ट्वा भवति' i. e. to the king doubtless belongs the Rājasūya for by offering the Rājasūya he becomes a king[6]

Jayaswal further throws light upon this type of sacrifice. He says, "The Rājasūya is comprised of three distinct parts, the first is a series of preliminary sacrifices, the second is the Abhiṣechanīya, the sprinking or the anointing; the third is a number of post anointing ceremonies. Out of the three, the Abhiṣechanīya is the most important and perhaps in practice the rites and formulae of it alone were considered indispensable at normal coronation.[7]

Epics are rich in examples of Rājasūya sacrifices. There is one particular Parva known as Rājasūya Parva in the Sabhā Parva of the *Mahābhārata*. All these

1. XVI. ७.
2. VIII. 12. 4. 5.
3. Vide : *Vedic Index* by Macdonell & Keith.
4. Edited by F. Kielhorn. Vol. II, p. 361; Sūtra V. 1. 95.
5. *Hindu Polity* by K. P. Jayaswal. 2nd Edition, page 199.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 200. also cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 1. 1. 12.
7. *Ibid.*, by K. P. Jayaswal. 2nd ed., p. 200.

show that the history of the Rājasūya is of hoary antiquity.

Vājapeya sacrifice.

According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] Vājapeya was a type of ceremony prescribed only for a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya. This Vājapeya sacrifice was according to the same authority superior to the Rājasūya sacrifice but the other authorities, however, are not unanimous on this point.[2] In the Vājapeya sacrifice, there was the chariot race in which the sacrificer was made victorious According to Eggeling, Vājapeya was a preliminary rite performed by a Brāhmaṇa prior to his formal installation as a Purohita or by a king prior to his consecration.[3]

Animal sacrifice in general (पशु यज्ञ)

Patañjali has referred to the animal sacrifices in connection with the worship of Rudra. Lord Rudra is honoured by sacrificing an animal into the fire[4] and the animal according to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* used to be a शूलगव[5] । In connection with the animal sacrifice, Patañjali refers to the wooden post for binding the sacrificial animals.[6] The sacrificial post should be made of Bilva or Khadira [7]

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1. V. 1. 5. 2. 3.
2. Vide : *Vedic Index* by Macdonell & Keith.
3. Vide : *Ibid.*, also cf. *Śānkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* XV. 3.
4. पशुना रुद्रं यजते । पशुं रुद्राय ददातीत्यर्थः । अग्नौ किल पशुः प्रक्षिप्यते तद्रुद्रायोपह्रियत इति । Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali Edited by F. Kielhorn, Vol. 1, p. 331. Sūtra I. 4. 32.
5. *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra* IV. 10. 1. page 208. Ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Printed at Govt. Press, Trivandrum.
6. यूपाय दारु (Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Sūtra II. 1. 36 & II. 3. 13.
7. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali edited by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I. page 8.

Patañjali also refers to the Agnīṣomīya Yajña. In this Yajña cow (or bull) and goat were sacrificed.[1] Most probably the cow (or the bull) was the animal for sacrifice before the god Agni and goat for the god Soma. There was one more type of sacrifice. It was known as 'Agnihotra Yajña.' In this Yajña barley used to be thrown into the fire.[2]

There were a few other kinds of yajñas, which probably used to last for four months. Patañjali says चतुर्षु मासेषु भवानि चातुर्मास्यानि यज्ञाः.[3] The names of such types of यज्ञs are, however, not known.

Pañcha mahāyajña. (पञ्चमहायज्ञ)

Every householder during the time of Patañjali was enjoined to perform the "पञ्चमहायज्ञ".[4] According to Manu, these पञ्चमहायज्ञs, were (a) ब्रह्मयज्ञ (b) पितृयज्ञ (c) देवयज्ञ (d) भूतयज्ञ & (e) नृयज्ञ । He says,

अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् ।
होमो दैवो बलिर्भौतो नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम्[5] ॥

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1. मध्यमोत्तमौ कस्मान्न भवतः । गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्यसंप्रत्ययो भवति । तद्यथा गोरनुबन्ध्योऽजोऽग्नीषोमीय इति न बाहीकोऽनुबध्यते । योऽग्निष्टोमेन यजते य उ चैनमेवं वेद । (Vide : Patañjali on Pāṇini, I. 4. 108.).
2. यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति । (Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali edited by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 444. Sūtra II. 3. 3.).
3 *Mahābhāṣya*, of Patañjali edited by F. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 361. Sūtra, V. 1. 94.
4. तासां क्रमेण सर्वासां निष्कृत्यर्थं महर्षिभिः ।
   पञ्च क्लृप्ता महायज्ञाः प्रत्यहं गृहमेधिनाम् ॥ (*Manu*, III. 69.).
5. Manu, III,70.According to the other verse No. 73 of Book III of *Manusmṛiti*, the पञ्चमहायज्ञs were also known as (1) Ahuta (2) Huta (3) Prahuta (4) Brāhmya-Huta and Prāśita. But these यज्ञs were not different from the above mentioned पञ्चमहायज्ञs as will appear from the following verse of *Manusmṛiti*

   अपोऽहुतो हुतो होमः प्रहुतो भौतिको बलिः ।
   ब्राह्म्यं हुतं द्विजाग्र्यार्चा प्राशितं पितृतर्पणम् ॥

   (Book III. Verse 74). In essence they all are of the same type. The difference is only in name).

i. e. the teaching of the Veda was known as ब्रह्मयज्ञ, the tarpaṇa or offering to Ancestors was the पितृयज्ञ, an oblation to God was termed as दैवयज्ञ, the offering of birds and animals to the Elementals was known as 'भूतयज्ञ' and the act of honouring the guests was known as the 'नृयज्ञ'. These were the five Yajñas which a householder had to perform daily.[1] According to Manu again, the performance of such Yajñas was beset with good results. He says—

पञ्चैतान्यो महायज्ञान्न हापयति शक्तितः ।
स गृहेऽपि वसन्नित्यं सूनादोषैर्न लिप्यते ॥[2]

i. e. he who did not forget to perform these five sacrifices on any day became free from the sin of the slaughter house even though living in that house. But if neglected, it leads to bad consequences. Manu says—

देवतातिथिभृत्याना पितृणामात्मनश्च यः ।
न निर्वपति पञ्चानामुच्छ्वसन्न स जीवति ॥[3]

i. e. he who did not make offerings to the five, namely gods, guests, servants, ancestors and lastly to himself, was like dead though breathing.

There were some other Brāhmaṇical rituals performed during the time of Patañjali. Patañjali refers to the Vedic practices of worshipping the Manes by offering water to them.[4] This is further confirmed from his commentary "तश्नासर्वंद्रव्यगति" ।[5]

During the time of the great grammarian Patañjali, it was but necessary that the Upanayana ceremony of

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1. *Manu*, III, 69.
2. *Ibid.*, III. 71.
3. *Ibid.*, III. 72.
4. "आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिता इति । (Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali ed. by F. Kielhorn Vol. I. p. 14.).
5. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I. p. 243.

a Brāhmaṇa should be performed just after eight years of his birth.[1]

Whether the above mentioned types of sacrifices and various Brāhmanic rituals prevalent during the time of Patañjali continued in the later periods also, we have practically no evidence to attest it. However, this much appears to be certain that at least during the time of Patañjali, a number of Brāhmin orthodox families must have flourished who observed such Rituals and Practices.

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1. गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मण उपनेय इति सकृदुपनीय कृतः शास्त्रार्थं इति कृत्वा पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति । (Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali Ed. by F. Kielhorn Vol. III. p. 57.).

CHAPTER XV

Śaivism

The earliest history of Śaivism can be traced in the cult of Rudra. Rudra was an important and powerful Vedic deity. He was the terrific form of Śiva and when fully appeased he became Śiva the auspicious.[1] Prayers were usually offered to him by the people to pacify his anger and used to be generally addressed, thus : "Oh Rudra, do not, out of thy anger, injure our children and descendants, our people, our cattle, our houses and do not kill our men, we invoke thee always with offerings.[2] Further it is said, "His shaft may not fall upon his worshippers, their parents, children, men, cattle or horses; he is besought to avert his great malevolence and his bolt from his worshippers.[3]

Rudra thus appears to be a god of ferocious nature having immense power bent on doing harm to man. In the *Ṛigveda,* he is no doubt described both as a benevolent and malevolent god, but was rather noted more for his malicious nature. He was like the deadliest and most ferocious animal pouncing on his prey. Men offered invocations to him in order that they might not become victims to his wrath.[4] In the post Vedic literature, the malevolent activity of Rudra becomes all the more prominent. In the *Āśvalāyana*

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1. *Ṛigveda,* 10. 92. 9. & *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, III. 63. शिवो नामासि स्वधितिस्ते पिता नमस्ते अस्तु मा मा हिंसीः । निवर्तयाम्यायुषेऽन्नाद्याय प्रजननाय रायस्पोषाय सुप्रजास्त्वाय सुवीर्याय ।
2. *'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems'* by R. G. Bhandarkar, page 103. also cf. *Rigveda*, I. 114. 8.
3. A. B. Keith in Harvard Oriental Series, Lanman, Vol. 31. page, 143. also cf. *Ṛigveda*, IV. 3. 1.
4. *Ṛigveda*, II. 33. 11.

Gṛihya Sūtra[1] he is represented as a manslayer god. Even gods feared their destruction from his strung bow and arrow.[2] In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] he is composed of the most terrible substances. He was considered to be thus a malevolent god. He was, therefore, frequently invoked by the people to avert his wrathful nature. About him it is further said, "The snakes are clearly conceived as being among his servants......... in a place infested by snakes, one should offer to Rudra who lives among the snakes at a mound of manure; to Rudra who is lord of cattle; in a river to Rudra who lives in the waters, at a cross way to Rudra of the roads, at sacred tree and at place of sacrifice......"[4]

The above observations about Rudra thus suggest that he was a very powerful god. He was the lord of serpents so dangerous by nature and master of rivers and cross roads which are always full of dangers. Rudra was also a widely worshipped deity. He was being worshipped under different names in different parts of the country. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[5] Rudra was known as 'Śarva' among the the eastern people and 'Bhava' among the Bahikas of the west. It is, therefore, no wonder that the worship of such an important and powerful god continued during the post Vedic and later times.

Patañjali refers to the cult of Rudra as it was in existence during his time He writes,

"पशुना रुद्रं यजते । पशुं रुद्राय ददातीत्यर्थः ।
अग्नौ किल पशुः प्रक्षिप्यते तद्रुद्रायोपह्रियत इति ॥[6]

1. IV. 8. 32.
2. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 9. 1. 1. 6.
3. III. 33. 1.
4. A. B. Keith in Harvard Oriental series, Lanman, Vol. 31. p. 145. also cf. *Hiraṇyakeśī Gṛihya Sūtra*, I. 16. 10.
5. I. 7. 3. 8.
6. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I. p. 331. Sūtra I. 4. 32.

In his worship, thus it appears from the above statement, an animal was offered to Rudra as may be expected of him on account of his ferocious nature. It was rather sacrificed in fire as a mark of respect to the deity. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra* informs us about the time, place and the process of sacrifice and the merit that accrues by performing such a sacrifice.

The animal for the sacrifice was a Bull.[1] It should be best of its group and should be neither unhealthy nor spotted [2] The sacrificial ceremony should be performed outside a village and at midnight or sunrise as the case may be.[3] A learned Brāhmaṇa should perform the sacrifice. He should bind down the animal's head with a Kuśa rope to the sacrificial post of a fresh branch of a tree having leaves, uttering the words, may it please him for whom I bind thee.[4] The sacrificial animal along with its tail, skin, head and feet should be thrown into the fire.[5] The blood of the animal sacrificed should be offered to a serpent.[6] This kind of sacrifice brings prosperity, purity, sons, cattle, longevity and splendour.[7]

The above facts thus tend to show that the custom of offering animal to Rudra was in vogue from the very early times and continued to exist to a much later period The preaching of Dhamma by Aśoka may have given some set back to this cult but it was not discontinued altogether during the periods under review.

1. *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*, ed. by Mahāmahopādhyāya, T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, p. 208. Sūtra IV. 10. 1. 'अथ शूलगवः'
2. *Ibid.*, Sūtra IV. 10. 4 to 6. p. 208.
3. *Ibid.*, Sūtra IV. 10. 10. p. 209.
4. *Ibid.*,
5. *Ibid.*, p. 212. Sūtra IV. 10. 21.
6. *Ibid.*, Sūtra IV. 10. 23.
7. *Ibid.*, Sūtra IV. 10. 31.

Gradually Rudra began to occupy insignificant position and a great importance was now being attached to Śiva. As a matter of fact during the periods under survey as a whole, Rudra the ferocious receded into background and was superseded by his benignant form i. e. Śiva the auspicious. In a way he became almost identical with Śiva who was a very popular sectarian deity of neo-Brahmaṇism. He was associated with some distinctive symbols which were absent in Rudra. He was given a trident and a Bull as his vehicle. His worshippers were known by a special term Śaiva.[1] They used to carry an iron object as a symbol of the deity they worshipped.[2] The following passage occuring in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali suggests a wide prevalence of Śiva cult during the time of the Mauryas and also in the later periods.

"अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति ।
किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न
स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रतिपूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ।[3]

The above statement of Patañjali suggests that the worship of Śiva along with Skanda and Viśākha was so popular among the people that the Mauryan Government even thought to make money by selling out images of these gods. During the time of Patañjali also, though the practice of sale of these images was stopped, but their worship continued. Śiva was so popular a deity that the various epithets such as Bhava, Śarva, Giriśa, Trayambaka, Mahādeva, etc. which were attributed to Rudra, were also ascribed to him. All these epithets of Śiva have been referred

1. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. II. p. 282, Sūtra IV. 2. 52.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 387. Sūtra V. 2. 76.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 429.

to in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.[1] As a matter of fact from the very early times Śiva is known by a variety of epithets. According to *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra,*[2] he was known as Hara, Kṛipa, Śarva, Śiva, Bhava, Mahādeva, Paśupati, Śaṁkara, Rudra etc. Also in the Epic and the Puranic periods various epithets are attributed to him. According to the Vana Parva of the *Mahābhārata,* Śiva was known as Śarva[3] and Tryambaka.[4] According to the Anuśāsana Parva[5] of *Mahābhārata* and the *Śiva Purāṇa,*[6] the following are some of the main epithets of Śiva.

Trayambaka, Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugradeva, Nīlakaṇṭha, Kapardin, Sahasrākṣa, Kumāra, Trilochana, Jaṭila, Vajrahasta, Gaura, Hiraṇyagarbha, Chaṇḍa, Bhairava, Śaṁkara, Śiva etc. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[7] Śiva is known as Maheśvara, Mahādeva, Śaṁbhū, Trayambaka and Amareśa. All these epithets taken together would thus suggest that Śiva was a very popular deity and as a sign of his popularity he was being worshipped by the people under different names

Besides the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, we have the coins of Kushāṇa kings which also help us in determining the wide prevalence of Śiva cult almost through

1. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali ed by F. Kielhorn, Vol. II. p. 91. Sūtra III. 1 134; p. 209, Sūtra VI. 4. 77, & Vol. III. p. 41, Sūtra VI. 1 63.
2. Ed. by Mahāmahopādhyāya, T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, printed at Govt. Press, Trivandrum 1923.

   हराय कृपाय शर्वाय शिवाय भवाय महादेवायोग्राय ।
   पशुपतये रुद्राय शंकरायेशानायाशनये स्वाहेति ॥
3. Chap 173, Verse 44. and chap. 167, Verse 49.
4. Vana Parva of *Mahābhārata,* chap. 167, Verse 50.
5. XVII (24) LXIX.
6. *The Religions of India,* Vol. I. p. 69 by A. P Karmarkar.
7. IV. 37. 28; IV. 43. 59; VI. 120. 3, VI. 43. 6; VI. 59. 9.

out the whole of nothern India. They display a galaxy of Indian deities in which Śiva occupies a very important place. Śiva was so popular a deity that even the foreigners also gave him a place on their coinage. King Wema-Kadphises was so much influenced by this god that he did not allow any other deity to occur on his coins save Śiva. The coins[1] of Wema-Kadphises depict a human figure of Maheśvara (i. e. Śiva) with a long trident in his hand and is seen standing by the side of a Bull. The legend on the coins runs as follows—

"Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Śarvaloga Iśvarasa Maheśvarasa Wema-Kathaphisasa Tradara." The coins of king Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva have also got the figure of Śiva. Some coins[2] of Kanishka and Huvishka have been found at Buxar and at Kumrahār which also depict the figure of Śiva having four arms. Another coin published in the *Punjāb Museum Catalogue*[3] depicts a figure of Śiva with a noose in right hand and a long trident in left hand and a Bull standing by his side. The Bull and the three pronged trident thus appear to be his important symbols. The wide prevalence of the Śiva cult is also made known by the discovery of a number of Punch-marked coins (discovered in the excavations[4] at Pāṭaliputra, Lauriyā-Nandangarh and at Vaiśālī), which generally bear the Śaivite emblems, namely the Bull and the Nandi-pada. The wide popularity of the cult of Śiva is also supported

1. Some of his coins are also discovered at Buxar. They are now in the coin cabinet of the Patna Museum and have been published by Altekar in *J N. S. I.* XII. Part II, p. 121. also cf. *I. M. C.* pages 68-69 and *P. M. C.* Vol. I. p. 183-84, plate XVII. 31 & 36.
2. *J. N. S. I.*, XII and XIII, pt. II, pp 121 & 144, respectively.
3. Vol. I, plate XIX. 209.
4. *A. S, I., A. R.*, 1912-13, 1935-36.

by the discovery of a Hara-Pārvatī gold plaque at Patna fort.[1] K. P. Jayaswal has described this plaque as follows :

"Below the Jaṭā knot of the male figure there is a crescent like band. Its left hand touches the bosom of the female figure. It is undoubtedly a plaque of Śiva and Pārvatī."

There was also a form of representing Śiva with Vishṇu, because sometimes Śiva and Vishṇu are taken to be quite identical gods and hence such a kind of representation is known by the name of Harihara. In the Patna Museum, we have got a stone head of Harihara[2] (i. e. half Vishṇu and half Śiva) of the Śuṅga—Kushāṇa period. Vishṇu is represented by his Mukuṭa and Śiva by his matted hair.[3]

It is a fact, no doubt, that Śiva has got some characteristics which are very akin to that of Vedic Rudra, but even then, gradually Śiva acquires a different status in the Hindu pantheon and on account of the following facts, he may appear to be quite different from the Vedic Rudra.

Śiva always carries a trident which is an important insignia of his but lord Rudra has not got such a symbol. Bull was a sacrificial animal for Rudra, but to Śiva it is his main Vāhana.[4] By this time images of Śiva in human form begin to appear whereas nowhere Rudra is depicted in a human form, that is to say, nowhere an image of Rudra is found. Anthropomor-

1. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. II. p. 1.
2. Patna Museum Arch. Register No. 2695.
3. There is another stone figure of Harihara in the Patna Museum. Here half the body is that of Vishṇu and half is that of Śiva. Arch. No. 6008
4. Vana Parva of *Mahābhārata*. chap. 167. Verse 44.

phism[1] of Śiva is definitely a later development. The other distinction between Śiva and Rudra is that Śiva is the auspicious or the appeased form of Rudra. Here the aspect between the two is also different. All these facts would thus suggest that Śiva by this time had become very popular and had assumed distinctive character and traits and, therefore, may be differentiated from the Vedic Rudra.

The worship of Śiva continued in the later periods also, or rather to be more precise, it is still continuing in the present times The existence of the Śiva cult during the Gupta period is revealed by the Karmadaṇḍā inscription of Kumāragupta I The inscription itself is written on Śiva-Liṅga, one of the main forms by which Śiva was usually worshipped in the later periods, and in the present times also he is generally worshipped in this form

The worship of Skanda and Viśākha has a very close association with that of Śiva cult. Patañjali while referring to the image of Śiva, also refers to the images of Skanda and Viśākha made for worship[2] During the time of Patañjali, thus it appears that Skanda and Viśākha denoted two different gods. D. R. Bhandarkar has rightly observed, "If these two names had denoted but a single deity, Patañjali would have mentioned only one, but as he has used two

1. On the old stone railing at Bodh-Gayā belonging roughly to the 2nd-1st century B. C. there is the fine figure of lord Śiva with a snake hanging down from the wrist of his right hand and the trident held up in his left side. (vide : B. M Baru's *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II. fig. 46.)

2. अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रतिपूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति । (Vide : *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. II. p. 429.)

names, it is clear that Skanda and Viśākha must denote two different gods." [1] For a long time Skanda and Viśākha were taken to be two separate gods. This is shown by the two types of coins of the Kushāṇa kings Huvishka and Kanishka respectively. In one type, the coin bears the legend "Skando Komāro Bizāgo" and has got two figures of deities against that legend. But the question may then arise, why there are only two deities when there are three names. As a matter of fact, Skando Komāro stands for one deity and Bizāgo for the other. The legend "Skando Komāro" is in one line and Bizāgo in the second, it is, therefore, very likely that Skando-Komāro denotes one deity and Bizāgo." (or Viśākha) the other. But the other type of coin has got three figures of deities with their names in Greek character read as "Skando Komāro Mahāseno Bizāgo." Here Skando-Komāro stands for one deity, Mahāseno for the other and Bizāgo for the third one. It, therefore, now appears to be quite certain that Skanda and Viśāka denoted two separate gods during the time of Patañjali and also in the later periods.

It is very interesting to note that at present, the two names Skanda, Mahāsena and Viśākha stand for only one god, namely, Kārttikeya. According to *Amarakoṣa,*[2] Kārttikeya is known by a variety of names. They are as follows—

कार्तिकेयो महासेनः शरजन्मा षडाननः ।
पार्वतीनन्दनः स्कन्द· सेनानीरग्निभूर्गुहः ॥
बाहुलेयस्तारकजिद्विशाखः शिखिवाहनः ।
षाण्मातुरः शक्तिधरः कुमारः क्रौञ्चदारणः ॥

Thus Skanda and Viśākha now stand for Kārttikeya. When this change took place we, however, do not

1. D. R. Bhandarkar's, *'The Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics'*, 1921, p. 22.
2. I. 1. 39 and 40.

know. But it is almost certain that the change may have taken place after the Kushāṇa kings, as we know on the authority of their coins that Skanda, Mahāsena and Viśākha were regarded as different gods till their times.

Kārttikeya is generally taken to be the son of Pārvatī and Śiva. But according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[1] he is taken to be the son of Agni and Gaṅgā. In this connection R. G. Bhandarkar observes, "The foetus was thrown by Gaṅgā on the Himvat mountain and it was nourished by the six stars constituting the constellation of Kṛittikā and was thus called the son of the Kṛittikas or Kārttikeya.[2] According to the Vana Parva of the *Mahābhārata*[3] also, Skanda is taken to be the son of Agni. He is named as Skanda after Skanna (i. e. the seed of lord Śiva) which was highly revered by the sages.[4] Hence Skanda may also be taken to be the son of Śiva as he took his birth out of the seed of Śiva. Moreover, Agni is also a form of Rudra-Śiva.[5] In the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali also Skanda and Viśākha are closely associated with Śiva. On account of Skanda being a close associate to Śiva, he was revered highly by the people.

According to the *Ṛgveda*,[6] lord Kārttikeya rides upon a pea-cock. He is described there as शिखिगत i. e.

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 37.
2. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious systems*, p. 150. also cf. *Ṛigveda* I. 37. 28 & III. 12 20.
3. Vana Parva, chap. 225, Verses 15 to 19.
4. ऋषिभिः पूजितं स्कन्नमनयत् स्कन्दतां ततः, षट् शिरा द्विगुणश्रोत्रो द्वादशाक्षिभुजक्रमः। (Vide : Vana Parva of *Mahābhārata* chap. 225. Verse 17.).
5. अग्निर्वै स देवस्तस्यैतानि नामानि। शर्व इति यथा प्राच्या आचक्षते भव इति यथा बाहीकाः पशूनाम्पती रुद्रोऽग्निरिति। (Vide : *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I. 7. 3. 8.).
6. VI. 69. 30.

riding a pea-cock, and armed with a Javelin.[1] In the image also, Kārttikeya is shown riding a pea-cock with a javelin in his hand.[2] Pea-cock therefore is taken to be a special emblem of this god.

The worship of Kārttikeya continued to exist in the Gupta period also. Though the Guptas were called परमभागवत्s that is to say that they were the great worshippers of Vishṇu, even then they respected other gods also. Kārttikeya or Skanda was probably a favourite deity of some of the Gupta kings as it would appear from the names of some of those kings, for example, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. They had their such names probably because they had a reverence for that deity as well. Not only this, Kumāragupta I and also Skandagupta probably had adopted Kārttikeya as their presiding deity for on the pea-cock type of their coins, the figure of Kārttikeya, nimbate riding on a pea-cock and holding a spear in his left hand over the shoulder and the right hand shown in a boon giving pose[3] appears very prominently.

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1. *Ṛigveda* : 4. 8. 22. & 4. 44. 72.
2. In the Patna Museum, there is a stone image of this god where he is seen riding a pea-cock and is holding a spear. The image belongs to the Gupta period. Arch. No. 6003.
3. Allan, '*Catalogue of the Gupta coins.*' also cf. '*The Development of Hindu Iconography*' by J. N. Banerji, pp. 155 ff.

CHAPTER XVI

Nāga Cult

The Nāga-cult has a very close association with the cult of Śiva. The Vedic god Rudra, the ferocious form of Śiva is always associated with Nāga. Nāga is, therefore, an essential symbol of Lord Rudra. Rudra is generally taken to be a destructive god. Hence it is but natural that his associate should also be destructive in nature. Nāgas were regarded by people as an evil spirit and they were also worshipped as such The *Atharvaveda*[1] says, "Let not the Snake, O Gods, slay us with our offspring, with our men (Purusha); what is shut together may it not unclose; what is open may it not shut together, homage be to the god-people."[2] Further it says, "Homage be to the black snake, homage to the cross lined, homage to the brown constricter; homage to the god people."[3] Its divinity is also reflected by a fience seahing which depriets a cobra standing behind a knechin suppliant.[4] Here the snake appears to be a protecting deity. He is the protector of the kneeling suppliant. In a way it may be regarded as a guardian deity The Sūtra literature also contains an account of the snake worship and its divinity attached thereto The Gṛihya-Sūtras contain an account of 'Sarpabali' which mentions the annual rite which has the two-fold purpose of honouring and warding off

1. Vide : VI. 56. 1. "मा नो देवा अहिर्वधीत् सतोकान्सह पूरुषान् संयतं न विष्परद् व्यात्तं न सं यमन्नमो देवजनेभ्यः ।
2. Whitneys translation of *Atharvaveda*, in the Harvard Oriental Series Lanman., Vol. 7. p. 323.
3. *Atharvaveda*, VI. 56. 2. नमोऽस्त्वसिताय नमस्तिरश्चिराजये, स्वजाय बभ्रवे नमो नमो देवजनेभ्यः ।
4. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 68; (plates CXVIII. 11 and CXVI. 29. in Vol. III.) by Sir John Marshall.

the snakes. The rite is held in the rainy season and lasts for four months.[1]

The *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*[2] lays down the process of observing the Nāga sacrifices.[3] "Out of the Jug he fills the spoon with flour, goes out (of the house) to the east, pours water on the ground on a clean spot, sacrifices (with the formulae), 'To the divine hosts of the serpents Svāhā, and does reverence to them (with the formulae).' The serpents which are terrestrial, which are aerial, which are celestial, which dwell in the directions (of the horizon)—to them I have brought this Bali, to them I give over this Bali." [4] To appease the serpents, which are the symbol of Lord Rudra, they are offered the blood of the sacrificial animal with the formula "Hissing ones, noisy ones, searching ones, seizing ones, Serpents, what here belongs to you take that." [5]

Epics also speak about the divine origin of the Nāgas [6] The chief of the Nāgas is the Seṣa Nāga which dwells in the nether region and which sustains the entire load of the earth. The entire earth it is said stands upon his hood.[7]

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1. *Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th Oriental Conference*, p. 312.
2. II. 1. 9.
3. "कलशात् सक्तूनां दर्वीं पूरयित्वा प्रागुपनिष्क्रम्य शुचौ देशेऽपोऽवनिनीय सर्पदेवजनेभ्यः स्वाहेति हुत्वा नमस्करोति ये सर्पाः पार्थिवाः येऽन्तरिक्ष्या ये दिव्या ये दिश्यास्तेभ्य इमं बलिमहार्षं तेभ्य इमं बलिमुपाकरोमीति ।" (*Āśvlāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*' II. 1. 9.).
4. Vide : *Sacred Book of the East*, Vol. XXIX, part I, p. 202.
5. *Ibid* , XXIX, part I, p. 257.
6. *Mahābhārata*, I. 66. 70; *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 14. 28.
7. Vide : *Mahābhārata*, Droṇa Parva. chapter 94, verse 48. अधस्ताद्धरणीं योऽसौ सदा धारयते नृपः, शेषश्च पन्नगश्रेष्ठः स्वस्ति तुभ्यं प्रयच्छतु ।

The Jātakas also are not silent about the snake worship in Northern India. Snakes are noted for their destructive nature. Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh writes, "It is often mentioned in the Jātakas that the Nāga can carry destruction by fiery blash of his nostrils. In the *Khara-Putta Jātaka* the angry Nāga king sends for Nāga youths and orders them to enter king Senaka's bed chamber and destroy him like chaff by the breath of their nostrils." [1] The *Champeya Jātaka* narrates a story about a Nāga king who dwelt at the Champā river-side and possessed formidable power. Once a war ensued between the king of Aṅga and Magadha and in that battle, the Nāga king had helped the king of Magadha For this kind help he used to get the tribute from the king of Magadha." [2]

The custom of snake worship thus appears to be quite well prevalent in India down to the age of the Jātakas. Let us now make a survey of the Nāga cult prevalent in Bihar during the period under review.

Bihar is full of swampy lands and rivers. Such places are the centres of snakes. Every year there is a great serpent menace. They are noted for their ferocious nature. There is, theretore, no wonder that the people, in order to pacify the wrathful nature of the snakes worship them

In Bihar, the Nāga-cult is of hoary antiquity. Its worship is traced from the pre-historic period down to the present times. While excavating the western channel of the Sarjamhatu medium irrigation schemes in the Sadar sub-division of Chaibassa—a large number of rock carvings have been found. The depth of these Carvings are 1 to 2 millimeters. There are some

1. *Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th Oriental Conference*, p. 312.
2. *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, pp. 454–55.

symbols having peculiar patterns. One of these Carvings indicates a human being with a Nāga in his hand and a bird on the top. Another human figure with a Nāga head-dress seems to be worshipping the deity. As a matter of fact, the whole Chhoṭānāgpur region, being full of swampy lands may be associated with the cult of Nāga Probably the above mentioned rock Carvings served as religious objects originally.

From the Mauryan times down to a very later age, the traces of the Nāga cult in Bihar have been brought to light by the Archaeological findings. In the year 1935–36 'Excavation at Rājgir'[1] round the main structure at Maṇiyār Maṭha brought to light two walled enclosures which measure 24′ x 23′ and 15′ x 14′ respectively The bricks used in the walls are of a fairly large size (17″ x 12″ x 2½′) which suggests an early age prior to the Christian era. These two earlier strata of buildings have yielded various terracotta objects and various kinds of potteries. Potteries have got spouts of numerous designs[2] They vary from four and six to twenty and in one case even thirty four.[3] The spouts mostly have got the 'designs of serpents.'[4] Such pots have long necks with round or flat base. Plate XVIe has got neither flat nor round base but it rests on two fixed stands. The pots were perhaps meant for offering Milk or things like that or water to the divine serpent in order to please him, so that he may not do any harm to the man. These potteries, which have got numerous spouts, are not found any where in India. These might have been used in connection with the snake worship The fact that such potteries

1. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1935-36. pp. 53-54.
2. *Ibid.* plate XVI d & e.
3. *Ibid.*, Plate XVI d.
4. *Ibid*, Plate XVI c.

are only found in Bihar, suggests a wide prevalence of the Nāga-cult at this place. Most of the people might be performing this worship. There are a number of terracotta serpents[1] which suggest that they were meant for worship. The divinity to such terracotta serpent is attached only because the terracotta serpent contains too many hoods which suggest therefore, a divine object. Thus Rājagṛiha appears to be a place for snake worship. People might be going there to pay their tributes to the serpents. The city of Rājagṛiha has been described by lord Kṛishṇa on his way to the kindom of Magadha, as the residence of the Nāgas, Arbuda, Śakravāpī, Svastika and Maṇi-Nāga" [2] In this connection Sarat Chandra Mitra observes, "If the name Maṇiyār Maṭha faithfully preserved the memory of Mani-Nāga who was the protector and rain giver of Rājagṛiha according to the *Mahābhārata*, it may be conjectured that such vessels withmultiple channels stimulating showers were used by the distressed suppliants praying for rain and deposited by them in the compound of the shrine It may be noted that the serpent worship which can be traced at Rājgir from the 3rd century B. C is still a popular form of religious belief particularly in eastern India, as is evidenced by the widespread cult of the snake goddess Manasā in Bengal." [3]

Further proof of the snake worship in Bihar is brought about by another excavation at Rājagṛiha[4]

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1. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1935-36. Plate XVI. f.
2. अर्बुदः शक्रवापी च पन्नगौ शत्रुतापनौ, स्वस्तिकस्यालयश्चात्र मणिनागस्य चोत्तमः। अपरिहार्या मेघानां मागधा मनुना कृताः, काशिको मणिमांश्चैव चक्राते चाप्यनुग्रहम् । (Vide : *Mahābhārata*, Śabhā Parva. chap. 21. Verse 9 & 10.).
3. *J. B. O. R. S.*, XXIII, pt. I. p. 121.
4. *A. S. I , A. R.*, 1936-37.

in the subsequent year 1936-37. This excavation brought to light a few inscribed fragment of sculptured stones. They were the back portions of a sculpture with two Nāga figures discovered in the earlier years. The complete figure is now in Archaeological Museum, Nālanda. The complete sculpture is exhibited in plate XIII a & b of *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936-37. When joined they depict the following panels of sculptures—

"(a) The lowest panel represents eight Nāga figures, standing side by side with an indistinct inscription on the pedestal.

(b) Above it, a decorated surface with one niche on each of the two extremities, the left one containing a Nāga sitting on a cushion in the Bhadrāsana with her feet resting on a stone pedestal which bears an inscription reading 'Bhagini Sumāgadhī' of the 1st quarter of the 2nd century A. D. The figure in the right niche is broken and only the canopy of serpent hoods is visible.

(c) On the top of which there was another panel of standing figures on the feet of which have now survived with an inscription below, which suggest that a certain king pleased Maṇi-Nāga."[1] On the basis of palaeography these sculptures can be assigned to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century A. D. From the above facts it can be said that Rājagṛiha was a noted centre for the snake worship in Bihar Maṇiyār Maṭha, the circular shaped shrine must have been named after Maṇi-Nāga, the best of the Nāga. People might be coming to that shrine for offering their tributes to that Nāga. The multiple spouted vessels might have been brought there by the worshippers for offering milk or water to the snake god and then they

1. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936-37, p. 46.

kept them at the shrine as a clear sign of their devotion to that snake god.

Rājagṛiha was not the only centre of snake worship. At Pāṭaliputra also some terracotta Nāgin figurines have been discovered. Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh in his article 'Serpent worship in ancient India,' [1] has described those figures. He writes,

"(a) In terracotta female figurine bearing the register no. B. 29 of 1915–16, depth 21'.5" we find a serpent deity with shirt and apron like drapery. There is a serpent coil on the head

(b) In terracotta female figurine bearing the Rester No B. 15 of 1915–16 depth 15' we find serpent hood on the head This figure has also peculiar drapery with apron and flap at side. There is a coiled serpent on the arm.

(c) In terracotta female figurine bearing no. 640 of 1926–27 depth 8'.4" we find a female head with serpent coil.

(d) In terracotta figurine bearing register no 7507, there is represented the face of a serpent put on a stand On the basis of the depths in which the above terra cotta Nāgin figurines have been found, we can say that the Nāga cult at Pāṭaliputra was prevalent from the Mauryan period down to a very later times " [2] Recent excavation at Vaiśālī and Kumhrār, have also disclosed a large number of Nāga figures belonging to 2nd Century B. C to 1st Century A. D and the purpose might have been to worship them.

The very name Chhoṭānāgpur one of the regions of Bihar, suggests that the place was probably full of

1. *Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th Oriental Conference*, p. 313.
2. *Ibid.*,

small snakes and that is why its name was given as such. It, therefore, must have a close association with the Nāga-cult.

Serpent is not only an enemy of man, but a friend too. He is willing to help him if he is properly worshipped and honoured. We have got before us the story of the Nāga king Muchalinda (मुचलिन्द). L. B. Keney says "Muchalinda was a Nāga King residing at Uruvelā at Bodh Gayā. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* relates that as lord Buddha, after his enlightenment at Uruvelā was enjoying the bliss of emancipation under a tree, there started all of a sudden an unexpected hailstorm with heavy rains and strong winds And it was the Nāga King Muchhalinda who protected Buddha for seven days from the storm " [1]

"At Gayā and Bodh Gayā are found images of a female with a crown of coiled snake canopied by a seven hooded snake and of Kulika Nāgarāja respectively." [2] Lord Buddha is said to have crossed the Ganges, on his way from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛiha on the hoods of the Nāgas. [3] All these facts point out that snakes were taken to be sacred and that they possessed immense strength due to which they were feared and worshipped. They were probably also regarded as the protecting deity because they were sometimes seen to adorn the crown Snakes were really so sacred to the people that they were allowed to remain in the place of worship. The sacredness attached to serpents might be also due to the fact that they were the close associates to Lord Śiva or Rudra.

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, XXVIII. 1942, p. 154 : also cf. *Vinaya Piṭaka* I. p. 3; and Beal's *'Buddhist Records of Western World'* Vol. II. p. 128.
2. Ibid., p. 156. also cf. Sarkar's *'Kurkihār, Gayā & Buddha Gayā'* pp. 50–56.
3. *Divyāvadāna*, Ed. by Cowell & Neil, pp. 55–56.

A terracotta head of a Nāginī is discovered at Pāṭaliputra which probably belongs to the Mauryan period. [1] There is also an image of a Nāga-goddess [2] discovered at Nālandā which is dated in the 7th Century A. D. A stone sculpture depicting the Nāga-rāja Muchhalinda protecting Lord Buddha has been found at Bodh Gayā [3] At Buxar also, a few Nāga terracotta figurines are dicovered The Nāga here has the canopyed of five-heads [4] The Nāgas were so sacred to the people of Bihar that they even liked to be called by such names In a Buddhist text entitled '*Milindapañho*' a man is really called by the name 'Nāgasena' who was a well renowned exponent of Buddhist philosophy during 2nd century B. C

The upshot of the whole discussion comes to the point that the snake worship in Bihar during the period under review was a very old custom Even now-a-days also, snakes are worshiped in Bihar. There is one particular day for the snake worship The festival itself is known as the 'Nāga-Pañchamī ' It falls on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa (i e July–August), and on that day, people, specially the women folk offer milk to the two snake like figurines (i e to the Nāga and Nāginī)

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1 *A S I., A. R.*, 1926–27, p. 139 Plate XXXI d.
2. *J B O R S.*, XXVIII, 1942, p 156. also Cf. *A. S. I., AR,* 1930–4 Plate LXVIII.
3. Vide : *Kurkihār, Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, p 55 by Sarkar.
4. Vide : 'Remains of a pre-historic civilization in the Gangetic Valley' in *Pathaka Commemoration Volume,* by Banerjee Śāstri. pp. 248–61.

CHAPTER XVII

Bhāgavatism

Brahmaṇism in its new-form had given rise to the cult of Kṛiṣṇa-Vāsudeva which was otherwise known as Bhāgavatism. [1] Its earliest history is traced in the cult of Viṣṇu. He was a Vedic deity. During the Vedic period, he was occupying a very subordinate position as very few hymns mention him. Gradually he rose to prominence during the Brahmaṇic period and by the time of the Epics he became a supreme god. It was during this period that Viṣṇu became identified with Vāsudeva. He had become by this time a sectarian deity. In the Bhiṣma Parva[2] of the *Mahābhārata*, the supreme spirit is addressed as Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu and is identified with Vāsudeva, In the Śānti Parvan,[3] lord Kṛiṣṇa is identified with Viṣṇu. Hence Nārāyaṇa, Kṛiṣṇa, Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva seem to be one and the same god under different names During the epic period, Viṣṇu is mentioned, no doubt, as the supreme being but the names of Nārāyaṇa, and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa occur very frequently. It, therefore, suggests that much more importance was now being attached to Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛiṣṇa than to Viṣṇu and that they had become more popular than Viṣṇu.

Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* while commenting upon the Sūtra IV.3.98 [4] of Pāṇini suggests that

1. Cf. View of A. Govindāchārya Svāmin in *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p 936.
2. Chapter 65 & 66.
3. Chapter 43
4. किमर्थं वासुदेवशब्दाद्वुन्विधीयते न गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुल-वुञ् (Vide : Sūtra IV. 3. 99) इत्येव सिद्धम। न ह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेव-शब्दाद्वुनो वा वुञो वा। तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः। इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं वासुदेवशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपात वक्ष्यामीति। अथवा नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या। संज्ञैषा तत्र भवतः।

Vāsudeva is not the name of a Kṣatriya but it stands for a proper name in the capacity of a Divine person[1], as otherwise there was no use of having this Sūtra IV 3.98, when the required form 'वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्' could have been made in accordance with the next Sūtra "बहुलं वुन्" (IV. 3. 99). Therefore, Vāsudeva definitely stands for a Divine person, namely Lord Kṛṣṇa. This Kriṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult of the period under review has been termed as Bhāgavatism."

Lord Kriṣṇa was known as Vāsudeva Sir R G Bhandarkar writes, "In the Buddhist *Ghaṭajātaka* the two eldest sons of Upasāgara and Devagabha are named Vāsudeva and Baladeva In the prose narrative no other name is given but the names Kaṇha and Keśava occur in the verses that are interwoven with the prose. The commentator remarks on the first verse that he is there addressed by his Gotra name Kaṇha, for he belonged to the Kaṇhāyana Gotra, thus showing his belief that Vāsudeva was the true proper name of the person " [2] Further he writes, "From the occurrence of the names Vāsudeva and Baladeva, close to each other in the 'passage from Niddesa' [3] referred to above and that of the Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva as worshipful or divine persons in a dvandva compound in 'two of the three above inscriptions, [4] it appears that Vāsudeva

1. See : K. B. Pathak's article "Devine Vāsudeva different from Kṣatriya Vāsudeva in Patañjali's opinion" in *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XXIII, pp. 96 f.
2. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 10. by R. G. Bhandarkar.
3. Ibid., p. 3.
4. (a) In inscription no. 1. in the large cave at Nānāghāṭ, the names of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva in a dvandva compound occur along with those of other deities in the opening invocation. (cf. Luders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 1112).

referred to by Patañjali as the worshipful one must be Vāsudeva of the Vriṣni race." [1] In the *Bhagavad Gītā* X. 37, Lord Kṛṣṇa is really found announcing, that of the Vṛṣṇis, he is Vāsudeva. [2] In the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali also, Vāsudeva is associated with Arjuna and we know from the *Bhagavad Gītā* that closely associated with Arjuna is Lord Kṛṣṇa. [3]

Vāsudeva thus stands for Lord Kṛiṣṇa. Kṛiṣṇa was a super-man of great personality. He was not an ordinary human being He was a supreme human being or rather a supreme deity in human guise. His super-human personality is revealed in the *Bhagavad Gītā* VI. 30 and 31 [4] where he says to Arjuna : "who sees me everywhere and everything in me, I am not lost to him nor is he lost to me; who so intent on unity, devoutly worship me, who dwell in every being, in whatsoever state he may abide, that ascetic abides in me" [5] In *Bhagavad Gītā* Kṛiṣṇa is represented as manifestation of Supreme among men who is all pervading and the Supreme Creatoı and the Lord of the Universe. He is the remover of all evils and

(b) Besnagar Gaurda pillar inscription (cf. Luders' List of Brāhmī inscriptions, N 669) relates the creation of a pillar with the image of a Garuḍa at the top in honour of Vāsudeva by Heliodorus who calls himself a Bhāgavata.

1. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 4. by R. G Bhandarkar.
2. वृष्णीनां वासुदेवोऽस्मि पाण्डवानां धनञ्जयः ।
   मुनीनामप्यहं व्यासः कवीनामुशना कविः ॥
3. *Mahābhūṣya* of Patañjali, edited by F. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 314, Sūtra IV. 3. 98. "वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्"
4. यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मयि पश्यति ।
   तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ॥
   सर्वभूतस्थितं यो मां भजत्येकत्वमास्थितः ।
   सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि स योगी मयि वर्तते ॥
5. English translation of *Bhagavad Gītā* by W. D. P. Hill, p. 160.

maintainer of piety. Lord Krịṣṇa says, "For when so ever right declines, Bhārata, and wrong uprises, then I create myself. To guard the good and destroy the wicked and to confirm the right I come into being in this age and in that." [1] About Lord Krịṣṇa Hopkins writes, "He is king of Dvārakā and ally of the epic heroes. But again he is divine, the highest divinity, the avatār of the all-god Viṣṇu." [2] In the Bhīṣma Parvan, chapter 65 and 66 of the *Mahābhārata*, lord Krịṣṇa is identified with Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva and is addressed there as the Supreme Spirit.[3] That Vāsudeva was really a supereme deity is borne out by Bhīṣma Parvan chapter 66 verses 17, 18, 28 and 29 of the *Mahābhārata*. Also in the Śānti Parvan ch. 43 of the *Mahābhārata* Krịṣṇa is identified with Viṣṇu. [4] In *Bhagavad Gītā* VIII 1 and X. 15 Lord Krịṣṇa is described as Purushottama. It appears that in the later age Viṣṇu came to be identified with Krịṣṇa who was also known as Vāsudeva. Therefore Vāsudeva, Krṣṇa and Viṣṇu were one and the same god, known at one time and place by the name of Viṣṇu, at another Krịṣṇa and at a still later age by the name of Vāsudeva Vāsudeva was a new sectarian god in the neo-Brahmaṇic religion.

Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* under Sūtra II. 2. 34 [5] refers to the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava.

1. यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
   अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदाऽऽत्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥
   परित्राणाय साधूना विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।
   धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥
2. *The Religions of India* by Hopkins, p. 388.
3. Bhīṣma Parvan, Chapter 65, Verses 47, 50, 63, 65; Ch 66, Verses 17, 23, 28 and 29.
4. Śānti Parvan, Ch. 43.
5. ननु चोक्तं मृदङ्गशंखतूणिवाः पृथङ्नदन्ति संसदि प्रासादे धनपतिराम-
   केशवानामित्येतच्च सिध्यत ।

This is for the first time that a temple of god is introduced in this age which is conspicuous by its absence during the vedic times. Here in the above example, Rāma is perhaps the shortened name of Balarāma and Keśava stands for Vāsudeva-Krișņa. Dhanapati stands for Lord Kubera who is the god of riches and treasure and the regent of the north quarter. [1] In ths connection R G. Bhandarkar observes, "Patañjali also notices under Pāņini II. 2. 34. a verse in which it is stated that certain musical instruments are sounded in a gathering in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava. Here Rāma and Keśava are Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Krișņa and it is clear that there were festive gatherings at their temples during the time of Patañjali " [2]

All these facts point out a wide prevalence of Vāsudeva cult in Bihar during the 2nd–1st Century B. C. when Patañjali flourished.

If Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar pillar inscription[3] is identified with the last but one Śunga king Bhāgavata, mentioned in the *Purāņas,* then it can be said that king Bhāgavata was also influenced by this religion and was well disposed towards Vāsudeva worship, that he even allowed Heliodorus, an ambassador of the king of Taxilā sent to his court, to construct a pillar with an image of Garuḍa at the top in honour of Vāsudeva Heliodorus calls himself a Bhāgavata We can, therefore, say that Vāsudeva worship or in other words Bhāgavatism was widely prevalent during 2nd–1st Century B C in the Śungan kingdom. At Gayā there is a Vișņupada temple

1. Cf *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by V. S. Apte, p 362.
2 *Vaișņavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems,* p. 13. by R G. Bhandarkar.
3 Luders' List of Brahmi inscriptions, No. 669. Vide : *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. X, appendix.

whose history is of hoary antiquity. The temple is no doubt of the modern times, but the cult of Viṣṇu at Gayā is continuing from very ancient days. There is specially one *Purāṇa* literature *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* by name which mainly deals with Viṣṇu as a divinity and in that Purāṇa, his association is traced in Gayā. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa,* there is specially one chapter Gayā māhātmya which deals with the cult of Viṣṇu at that place. B. M. Barua in this connection writes, "The Gayā-māhātmya as a Vaiṣṇava manual represents Viṣṇu, particularly in his mace bearing (Gadādhara) form, as the presiding deity of Gayā-kshetra and extols his iconic repesentation as the highest object of veneration (cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa,* 107, 44–45.). The Janārdana or humane, the Nārāyaṇa or super-human and the Puṇḍarikākṣa or lotus eyed forms, too, are worshipped in Gayā (cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa,* 109, 14–31 ")[1] That is to say Viṣṇu figure in the holy land of Gayā is in four different aspects, namely,—

(a) the Gadādhara or the terrible, (b) the Janārdana or the mild, (c) the Nārāyaṇa or awe-inspiring and (d) Puṇḍarikākṣa or beautiful eyed, the first aspect, however, getting prominence over the rest. [2]

Vāsudeva cult also continued in the Gupta periods. It is revealed by the inscriptions of the Gupta kings where they are styled as परमभागवत [3] Almost all the Guptan inscriptions are full of this title. The issue of

1. *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā,* Book I, p. 19. by B. M Barua.
2. *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā,* Book I, p. 19. by B M Baura.
3. (a) कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तः।
   (Vide · *Select Inscriptions. of Northern India,* Vol. I, 2nd Edition, p. 273, line 5-6. by D. C. Sarkar.
   (b) लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यांकुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न परमभा[गवतो महाराजाधिराज श्री समुद्रगुप्त]……।
   (Vide : *Ibid.,* p. 271, line 4.)

coins of the Gupta kings also give an image of Garuḍa which is an important emblem of Vāsudeva. On the coins also the Gupta kings are referred to as परमभागवत. We, therefore, may now presume that Vāsudeua cult or Vaiṣṇavism might be widely preva lent in Bihar during the period under survey.

CHAPTER XVIII

MINOR GODS AND GODDESSES

(a) *Indra, the rain god and the god of thunderbolt.*

The *Mahābhāṣya*[1] of Patañjali introduces us with a few minor gods who were worshipped by people or at least they were highly revered by them. Among such gods Indra is one of them. Patañjali at one place writes, 'इन्द्राग्नी देवता'। From this it can easily be inferred that Indra was grouped in the category of gods From the above statement it also appears that Agni was also kept among gods. Indra is generally regarded as the god of rain and also the god of thunderbolt According to a statement of Patañjali, Indra was taken as a boon giver god Patañjali says "वृद्धकुमारीन्द्रेणोक्ता वर वृणीष्वेति सा वरमवृणीत, पुत्राः मे बहुक्षीरघृतमोदनं कासपात्र्या भुञ्जीरन्निति। तत्रानयैकेन वाक्येन पतिः पुत्रा गावो धान्यमिति सर्वं सगृहीत भवति।" i. e. once a certain old woman was asked by lord Indra to pray for certain boon from him Upon this the woman expressed her desire that she should be blessed with sons and that she should see her sons eating various milk products in a pot made of brass. Lord Indra accordingly granted her the prayers. From this instance, the immense power of Indra is reflected

(b) *Agni, the god of fire.*

The other god whom people worshipped was the god Agni as has already been pointed out above.[2] It has also already been pointed out earlier that Agni

1 *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 356, line 18, Sūtra V. 1. 59.

2. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Sūtra V. 1. 59. (इन्द्राग्नी देवता); VI. 3 26 (देवता द्वन्द्व उभयत्र वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। वाय्वग्नी अग्निवायू and VI. 3. 35 अग्नायी देवतास्य।)

is identified sometimes with Rudra (i. e. Śiva). Agni is Rudra and Rudra, Agni, "अग्निर्वै स देवस्तस्यैतानि नामानि । शर्व इति यथा प्राच्या आचक्षते भव इति यथा बाह्लीकाः पशूनाम्पति रुद्रोऽग्निरिति ।" [1]

Mitra and Varuṇa were also the gods of worship. Patañjali writes, "मित्रावरुणौ याज्यमानः । मित्रावरुणौ इज्यमानः ।"

Astronomical gods.

The Sun and the Moon.

The Sun and the Moon were also the objects of worship. The Sun was a Vedie deity but his cult continued during the time of Patañjali also i.e. during circa 2nd Century B. C. This is inferred from a statement of Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*. He writes,

(a) बहूनामप्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् । पश्य बानरसैन्येऽस्मिन्यदर्कमुपतिष्ठते । मैवं मंस्था सचित्तोऽयमेषोऽपि हि यथा वयम् । एतदप्यस्य कापेयं यदर्कमुपतिष्ठति ।[2]

(b) उपाद्देवपूजासंगतकरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् । आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते । चन्दमसमुपतिष्ठते ।[3]

On the old rail pillars at Bodh-Gayā there are various carvings which include certain astronomical representations, figures of Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī, images of Śrī and Gaṅgā, certain auspicious symbols and a few others. These objects were also probably venerated. Among the astronomical representations, there is a powerful figure of the Sun The representation of this god is shown there in such a way that it suggests a divine being and an object for worship. Besides this fine figure of the Sun god itself, there are various other representations of the solar Zodiac. Out of the twelve Rāśis some are depiected on the rail pillars at Bodh-Gayā. They were probably the objects of religious importance and so they are described below.

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1. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 7. 3 8.
2. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, ed. by F. Kielhorn, Vol.I, p. 281.
3. *Ibid.*, Sūtra I. 3. 35.

The Rāśi 'Tulā' is depicted on the old stone railing (in situ) and the two Rāśis Siṁha and Kanyā are represented by the side of Tulā. This kind of representation is not in keeping with the usual order of enumeration the of Rāśis. The figure of Tulā should have been represented to the right of Kanyā and Kanyā ought to have been shown to the right of Siṁha. So here there is a slight variation.

The Rāśi Vṛiṣa is represented by a standing figure of a bull and Siṁha by that of a lion. The Makara Rāśi has been represented by an elephant faced Makara. There is also a figure of a buffalo in the central circular zone of a similar medallion with floral designs, but whether this also represented the Vṛiṣa Rāśi, we do not know Similarly the Kanyā Rāśi has been depicted on the stone medallion of the railings at Bodh-Gayā by the bust of a damsel crowned with a garland and not by the figure of a damsel in a floating boat holding a lamp in her hand

With regard to the Tulā Rāśi, Barua holds that this is generally represented by the figure of a trademan weighing goods in a Balance but in the Bodh Gayā medallion, the trademan figures with a pillow before him and is represented without the Balance.[1]

The Dhanu Rāśi has been represented by the hybrid figure of a bow-man with the body of an antelope

With regard to the Mithuna Rāśi, Barua says "In the Bodha-Gayā motif, there is a nearer approach to the ancient representation (human pair–the man carrying a Gadā and the woman a Vīṇā)–the medallion presenting a human couple in love, the man holding

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1. *Gayā and Buddh-Gayā*, **Book II, p. 92 by B. M. Barua.**

up flowers in his right hand and a mace lying at the back of the woman." [1]

Besides the above mentioned Rāśis, there are a few representations of the Lunar Asterisms also. The Aśvinī and the Mṛigaśirā Nakṣatras have been depicted by the figure of a horse and an antelope respectively on the old stone railing at Bodh-Gayā.

The figure of Gaṅgā (which is generally regarded as a river goddess and the custodian of fishes) has been represented on the old stone railing at Bodh Gayā, riding on the back of a Makara with her right hand akimbo. [2]

The figures of Gaja Lakṣmi have been also depicted on the old stone railings at Bodh-Gayā They are of two varieties.

(a) She is seen standing gracefully on a lotus flower, keeping her two feet drawn close to each other. She holds up a blooming lotus-bud in her right hand stretched forth in front while two elephants pour water upon her head from two sides from two jars held upside down. [3]

(b) The goddess here stands on the pericarp of a lotus blossom, keeping the heels of her feet in touch with each other and the toes wide apart. She stands in delightful pose holding a bunch of lotus buds in one hand and that of lotus blossom in the other. Here no elephant is to be seen. [4]

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1. *Ibid.*, An image of a Mithuna couple has also been found from Patna City, Patna. Here the male and the female are in amorous pose. The figure belongs to the Kushāṇa period. It is now in the Patna Museum (Arch Reg. No. 8178.)
2. *Gayā and Buddh-Gayā*, Book II, p. 92, fig. 47 by B. M. Barua.
3. *Ibid.*, fig. 49.
4. *Ibid.*

With regard to the minor Hindu divinities, Nihar Ranjan Ray has rightly observed, 'Here in the relief of Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā one can witness such gods of civilized conception as Sūrya, Lakshmī and Indra mingling freely with such tribal deities as the Yakshas and Yakshinis, the Vṛikshadevatas and the Nāga spirits, Apsaras and the Kinnaras of popular faith and imagination " [1]

Cult of Goddess worship

Excavations at various places (such as Lauriyā-Nandangarh, Baśārh, Pāṭaliputra and Buxar) in Bihar have brought to light the existence of the cult of Femle worship prevalent during the 2nd-1st Century B. C Excavations at various mounds of Lauriyā-Nandangarh in the year 1935–36 and 1936–37 have yielded a large number of terracotta figurines They are mostly female figurines and they can be on stylistic grounds dated in the 2nd-1st Century B C. and can be compared with those of the Śuṅga period discovered elsewhere [2] Some of the female figurines are probably the representations of divine-beings Plate XXIV No 11 and 16 of *A.S.I., A.R.,* 1936–1937, page 50 depicts a lady standing on a lotus under an umbrella and on two other lotuses stand her two attendants Her right hand is in the Varadamudrā or 'gift bestowing pose'. All these things suggest her to be a divine female. What particular goddess she represents is, however, not known. But it may be presumed that she probably stands for the Goddess of Fortune.

Plate XXIV No. 14 and 15 of *A.S.I., A.R.,* 1936–37 depicts another terracotta female figurine. The lady is holding a baby (or two babies) hanging near her

1. *Maurya and Suṅga Art,* p. 89, by Nihar Ranjan Ray. Calcutta, 1945.
2. *A. S. I., A. R.,* 1935–36, p. 64, Plate XXII No. h to o.

breasts. She undoubtedly appears to be the Mother goddess. Her representations were probably offered at this sacred spot by females who wished to have children.[1] The cult of Mother-goddess is traced from the ancient times In the excavations at Harappā and Mohenjodāro, a number of female figurines were discovered which suggest the existence of Female cult in vogue in those days Among them, one of the female figurines is seen holding a child in her arms which is very much identical with the female figurine found at the excavations of Lauriyā-Nandangarh.[2] She is most probably the Mother-goddess.

Excavation in mound 'M' at Lauriyā in the year 1935-36 yielded a gold leaf bearing a nude female figure with large hips standing in a frontal pose and with her arms hanging down along her sides. She wears a girdle and disc-shaped ear ornaments.[3] It may be noticed in this connection that from inside the Stūpa at Piprāhwā in Bastī district, U. P, a gold leaf having a female figure exactly similar in pose to the one discovered at Lauriyā was found which may be assigned to c 4th-3rd Century B C[4] In the opinion of Bloch the above female figure is the Mother-goddess or the Earth-goddess who is generally invoked during the funeral rite to protect the dead from the abode of destruction and the wooden post discovered in centre of N mound at Lauriyā affords an illustration of this custom.[5]

1. *Ibid*, 1936-37, p. 50.
2. *Mohenjodāro and the Indus Civilization* by John Marshall, Vol. III, Pl XCV, 20 also cf. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1936-37, Pl. XXIV, No. 14 and 15.
3. *A S I, A. R.*, 1935-36, p. 59, Pl. XXIII b.
4. *Ibid.*, p 59-60, Pl. XXIII a.
5. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 59.

Almost all the female figurines discovered in the excavations at Lauriyā-Nandangarh in the year 1935-36 have got some divine touch. Plate XXII h of *A. S. I., A. R.,* 1935–36, p. 64 depicts a terracotta female figurine having two wings Wings really make her a divine-being So she might be venerated by the people.

The excavation at square No. V. 19 of Baśārh (Vaiśālī) in the year 1913–14 brought to light three terracotta female figurines which can be assigned to either Śuṅgan or the Mauryan period. Plate XLIV No. 550 of *A. S, I., A. R.,* 1913–14, p. 116 represents in the form of a terracotta plaque a standing female figure. The figure wears huge round ear-rings and is further distinguished by wings of a very unusual type while the background is everywhere filled with floral ornaments The above descrıption of the female figurıne suggests her to be a divine-being. What female goddess she ıepresents is not known, but it appears that she must be the object of worshıp

CHAPTER XIX

Buddhism

Buddhism which had reached its highest zenith in Magadha during the time of Aśoka, got some set back in the succeeding periods. The reason for this set back was that it ceased to have any royal-patronage which it had received before at the hands of king Aśoka The post Mauryan period was a period of Brāhmaṇical revival, but inspite of this fact, it can never be said that only Brāhmaṇism flourished during the period under review and that the other religions gave way to neo-Brahmaṇism. Buddhism was still being patronized by a large section of the society in the 2nd-1st Century B C even though it had no royal patronage Naturally a religion which was once firmly established in Magadha a century ago must take some time before it totally decayed or became extinct

"The history of Buddhist faith begins with a band of mendicant monks who gathered round the person of Gotama, the Buddha" [1] The main aim of Buddhism was to achieve Nirvāṇa, i e. the deliverance from the bondage of death and birth. To achieve this end Lord Buddha laid down eight-fold path. They are as follows : "Right faith, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right thought, right self-concentration" [2]

Lord Buddha preached his first sermon at Sāranātha Varanasi. By his new formulae and teaching he could make many his followers. In the beginning he had only five disciples but later on the number increased enormously. Now arose the Buddhist order and church. There were two stages before one was

1. *Buddha* by H Oldenberg, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 346-47.

declared a full-fledged member of the Buddhist order. 'Pabajjā' was the first stage of initiation into Buddhist faith and order and the 'Upasampadā' was the second or the final stage when one attained the complete Arhatship or monkhood.

Buddhist establishments were commonly known as Saṅghārāmas Saṅghārāmas were the centres of religious and cultural activities of the Buddhists During the 2nd–1st Century B C Magadha (i e Rājagṛha and Pāṭaliputra) and Vaiśālī were the two great centres of such Buddhist organisations This is corroborated by the statement of the Mahāvaṁsa, XXIX, 30 and 33. It is said therein that the Thera Indagutta (the head of a great school) with 80 thousand Bhikṣus came to Ceylon from Rājagṛha and from the Mahāvana monastery) in Vaiśālī came the Thera Urbuddharaksita with 18 thousand Bhikṣus to attend the great festival of laying the foundation-stone of the great Chaitya in honour of lord Buddha by the ruling king Duṭṭhagāmani of Ceylon.[1] The date of king Duṭṭhagāmani of Ceylon as calculated by W Geiger is c. 101–77. B C.[2] which is almost synchronous with the Śuṅga period Hence it can be said that Buddhists were in large numbers both in Bihar and outside during the 2nd–1st Century B C

According to the *Divyāvadāna*[3] Pāṭaliputra also was probably a great centre of Buddhist organisation We hear of the existence of the famous Kukkuṭārāma, the Buddhist institution at Pāṭaliputra (constructed by the great king, Aśoka).[4]

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1 *Mahāvaṁsa* English translation by W Geiger, p 1[illegible]
2 *Ibid* , page XXXVII
3. Edited by Cowell and Neil, p 434.
4. यावद् राजा पुष्यमित्रश्चतुरंगबलकायं संनाहयित्वा भगवच्छासनम् विनाशयिष्यामीति कुक्कुटाराम निर्गतः । द्वारे च सिंहनादो मुक्तः । यावत् स राजा भीतः पाटलिपुत्रं प्रविष्टः ।
(Vide . *Divyāvadāna* Ed. by Cowell and Neil, p. 434.)

Milindapañho a Buddhist book of 2nd–1st Century B C. also gives information of Buddhist organisations in Magadha. There it is mentioned that venerable Assagutta had asked Nāgasena to go to Pāṭaliputra Aśoka park where dwelt the honourable Dharmmarakṣita for learning the words of the Buddha from that teacher. [1] Accordingly Nāgasena started for Pāṭaliputra. Again at another place in the *Milindapañho* it is said, नगरे राजगहे पञ्चाससहस्सानि तीणि च सतसहस्सानि अरियसावका भगवतो उपासक उपासिकायो पुन तत्थेवं धनपालहत्थिनागदमने नवुति पाणकटियो ।[2] i e 'In the city of Rājgaha (Rājagṛha) three hundred and fifty thousand devout laymen and devout lay women disciples of the Blessed One were walking in the paths [3] Thus we find that quite a large number of people were still Budhists during this period and the existence of nun in the Buddhist order may further suggest that Buddhism probably had reached its highest stage of development at this period.

That the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas probably were not in good terms during the time of Patañjali may be visualised by his statement when he says, येषा च विरोध इत्यस्यावकाश· श्रमणब्राह्मणम् ।[4] But in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* the mention of परिव्राजिका attached to the court of the queen of Agnimitra in a position of trust and dignity may, however, suggest that Buddhism

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1. अस्सगुत्तो एतदवोच—गच्छ त्वं नागसेन पाटलिपुत्तं। पाटलिपुत्तनगरे असोकारामे आयस्मा धम्मरक्खितो पटिवसति । तस्स सन्तिके बुद्धवचनं परियापुणाहि'ति ।
   (Vide : *Milindapañho*, ed by R. D. Vadekar, 1st Edition, University Press publication Bombay. 1940)
2. *Milindapañho*, ed by R D Vadekar 1940, Book VI, p. 342.
3. *S. B. E.*, XXXVI, Part. II, p. 248.
4. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali edited by F. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 476

was still being looked upon with reverence at that time by the Śuṅga king who was Brāhmaṇa by caste.

Thus the combined statements of *Mahāvaṁsa, Divyāvadāna, Milindapañho, Mahābhāṣya* and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* suggest that quite a large number of people of Magadha and Vaiśālī had become Buddhists and had accepted monkhood or nunery.

Though it is a fact, no doubt, that Buddhism did not get the patronage in the true sense of the term at the hands of the Imperial Śuṅgas but at the same time it has to be admitted that they were not opposed to this religion and that is why they did not disturb the Buddhist monuments that were in the very heart of their dominion and also they did not stop the various Buddhist activities that took place for the cause of Buddhism during their times The Aśokan pillar inscription at Lauriyā Nandangarh, the contents of which are mostly Buddhist in aspect, was not destroyed by the Śuṅga kings. The Buddhist rail pillars and railings at Bodh-Gayā that were constructed during their reign were also not disturbed. That the Śuṅga kings were favourably disposed towards the Buddhist faith can be inferred by the Bhārhut pillar inscription of the time of the Śuṅgas. The inscription runs as सुगनं रजे रञो गागीपुतस विसदेवस पौतेण गोति पुतस आगरजुस पूतेणं वाछिपूतेन धनभूतिन कारितं तोरणं सिल कमतो च उपण।[1] i. e a Buddhist Toraṇa (Gateway) was constructed by Dhanabhūti during the reign of the Śuṅgas It, therefore, clearly suggests that the Suṅgas were not opposed to Buddhism As a matter of fact the Śuṅga Kuṣāṇa period as a whole was a period of various Buddhist activities like the donations of Caves, Monasteries and Monuments to the cause of Buddhist

1. Vide . *Select Inscriptions of Northern India*, Vol. 1, by D. C. Sirkar, p. 89.

Saṁgha. We come across a number of such instances in the inscriptions of Bodh-Gayā rail posts.[1] A list of such donations made by the upholders of Buddhist faith is given below ;

(1) Ayāye Kuraṁgiye dānaṁ[2], i. e. the gift of the noble lady Kuraṁgī. This text occurs on the 14 of the surviving sand stone pillar of the old stone railings at Bodh-Gayā.

(2) Ayāye Kuraṁgiye dinaṁ,[3] i. e. donated by the noble lady and matron Kuraṁgī. This text is only on one Rail-post. In each of the above texts, Kuraṁgī, the female donor is honoured with the title Ayāye (i. e. Ārya), the noble lady and the matron. Her name as a female donor also occurs in the labels on two of the Coping pieces of the above mentioned railing The inscription runs as,

(3) (Raño Kośi)ki—putrasa Iṁdāgimitrasa Pājavatiye jivaputrāye Kuraṁgiye dānaṁ (.) rājā pasādā chetika (śrī)ma(ye) dānaṁ.[4]

(4) (Raño Ko)siki-putrasa Iṁdāgimitrasa pajāvatiye jivaputrāye Kuraṁgiye dānaṁ rājā pasādā chetika si(ri māye) dānaṁ[5] i e the gift of Kurāṁgi, the wife of king Indrāgnimitra, (Kurāṁgī) who is the mother of living sons, (the gift as well) of Śrīmā (Śrīmati) a female donor from (the monastic abode), Indrāgnimitra's palace[6] From these inscriptions it appears that Kuraṁgī made good efforts for the spread

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X Appendix No. 939–53
2. *I. H Q.*, Vol. VI 1930, p. 6. also cf. *A. S. I*, *A. R.*, 1908–9, p. 147.
3. *Ibid*, p. 7 also cf. *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, Book, II, p. 66, by B. M. Barua.
4. *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, Book II, p, 69, by B. M. Barua.
5. *Ibid.*, also cf. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VI, 1930, p, 12 & *A. S. I*, *A. R.* 1908–9, p. 147
6. *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, Book II, p. 69. by B M. Barua.

and upkeep of Buddhism in Bihar. B. M. Barua has rightly observed in this connection that the erection of the old sand stone railing of the old Diamond Throne temple and Jewel-walk-shrine was due mainly to her munificence. [1] There were other donations also from some of the upholders of the Buddhist faith.

Among the north east corner pillars of the railings at Bodh-Gayā, there is a fine Yakṣa pillar which is almost intact and preserved, and has got the inscription :

(5) 'Raño Brahamamitrasa Pajāvatiye Nāgadevaye dānaṁ [2] i e. the gifts of Nāgadevī, the wife of king Brahmamitra

The name of Śrīmā as a female donor appears on one of the surviving pillars of the old stone railing. The inscription runs as :

(6) Rāño Iṁ(dāgimitra) (Ś)irimāye (dānaṁ).[3] It may be restored as 'Rāño Iṁdagimitra (sa pasādāchetikā) sirimāye (dānaṁ), i. e the gift of Śrīmā, a female donor from the Indragnimitra Prāsāda.

(7) A certain person Amogha by name had also donated a rail bar to the cause of Buddhism. The inscription is 'Amoghasa dānaṁ' [4] i. e the gift of Amogha.

Donations at Bodh-Gayā were made not only from the people of Bihar but also from the people outside Bihar. Bodhirakṣita of Tāmraparṇī (i e Ceylon) had made a certain donation at Bodh-Gayā The text of such a donation by him is on one of the rail bars of the Bodh-Gayā temple, and it runs as follows.

1. "*Gayā and Buddha Gayā*" Book II, p. 54. by B. M. Barua.
2. *A. S. I., A R*, 1908-9, p. 147. also cf. *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Book II, by B. M. Barua p, 67; *I. H. Q.* Vol. VI. 1930, p. 8.
3. *Ibid.*, also cf. *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Book II, p 67 by B. M. Barua.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X. Appendix. No. 945.

'Bodhirakṣita Ta(m)bapa(m)nakasa dānaṁ.'[1] Further it is worth noting that the people of Pāṭaliputra had made certain donations for the cause of Buddhism not only in Bihar but also outside it In one of the inscriptions of Bhārhut Stūpa, mention is made of a gift of Nāgasena, the Koḍiyāni from Pāṭaliputra [2] Thus from the foregoing observations it appears quite legitimate to think that monks and nuns were the persons responsible for rearing up of the railings and gateways of Bodh-Gayā temple in the interest of Buddhism and also for its spread outside Bihar and that Buddhism was still popular during this period.

That Buddhism during the Kuṣāṇa period received the royal patronage admits of no doubt and that Kuṣāṇa King Kaniṣka was definitely a great patron of Buddhism; but unfortunately during this period, Bihar was not the important centre of Buddhist activities It was Mathurā where we come across with a number of Buddhist inscriptions (dealing with various donations by individuals to Buddhist Saṁgha or order) of the time of Kuṣāṇa Kings. [3] But at the same time it must be said that Bihar was not totally devoid of Buddhist activities B M. Barua, in this connection says, "In the third stage also characterized by the use of Sand-Stone as an art material, we have an important inscription[4] on the pedestal of an image

1. Luders' List of Brāhmī inscriptions, published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X. No 945. also cf. *A. S. I.*, *A R*, 1908-9, p. 156. and Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, 1873, p. 69, Pl. XXVI and *I. H Q*, Vol. VI, p. 10.
2 *Indian Antiquary* XXI, p 229, No. 28 cf. Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, p. 132, No. 8. Pl LIII.
3 Luders' List of Brāhmī inscriptions, published in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. X, appendix.
4. महाराजस्य (f)त्रकम (ल) स्य स (म्) ६०४ गृ (३) दि ५ स्या पूर्णया भिक्षु विनयधरस्य विहारस्य सधे विहारि विता·········खु, अमात्य-धुरविहारे स्वकेन समर्थो स (?) शैलिका बोधिसत्व पतिया सीहरथा प्रतिष्ठापयति। उपासिकाये अर्थधर्म सहायेसिय धन (?)······

of Buddha still in the Bodhisattva state dated in the Samvat 64 during the reign of Mahārājā Trikamala. The general wording and style of this inscription are closely similar to those of the Jaina and Buddhist image inscriptions incised at Mathurā during the reign of Kaniṣka and other Kuṣāṇa Kings and the particular image on which the inscription occurs is carved like another standing figure of the Buddha-Bodhisattva in a Sandstone of Mathurā In this inscription, the donor claims to have set up two such Buddha-Bodhisattva images of stone (Śailika Bodhisattva patimā) in a monastery called 'Amātyadhura Vihāra'; whether the given date Samvat 64 is to be interpreted in the terms of the Śaka or some other current era, it would seem certain that the official language of India had not till then fully attained the stage of the sonorous Sanskrit of the Praśastis keeping clear of the elements of Prākrit. That is to say, the inscription can by no means be regarded as later than 2nd–3rd century A. D. and the two figures must be counted among the Buddha images noticed by Fi-Hien in the then existing Buddhist Sanctuaries at Bodh-Gayā in the beginning of the 5th century A D.[1] Further, during the Kusāna period, Aśvaghoṣa, who is said to be a man from Magadha, wrote out an important book on 'Buddha-Carita' This shows a development in the field of Buddhism during this period The prevalence of Buddhism in Bihar during the Kuṣāṇa period is further confirmed by the discovery of a Bodh-Gayā terracotta plaque in Kumhrar excavation. This plaque is now exhibited in the Patna Museum,

ष्ठ··· ··ये सर्वा—सहायता धर्म कथिकेन (?) ता इमेन कुशलमुल्लेण मासा पितृणा (म्) पूजाये भवतु उपाध······जाये (?) यं······ध्य ।
(vide : *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, Book II, p. 70 by B. M. Barua.)

1. *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Book I, p. 76 by B. M. Barua.

Patna. B M. Barua writes about this plaque, "a short Kharoṣṭhī inscription runs lengthwise from the foot of the Aśokan monolith which stands on the right side of the entrance of the Sanctuary depicted in the plaque and is found to be a votive label recording the plaque as it does, to be a gift from a person of the Kauthuma family who is described as Saṁghadāsa the servant of the Buddhist holy order,' Kothumasa Saṁghadāsasa Kiti" [1] According to Sten Konow, to whom the credit of its decipherment goes, it is a record of c. 134 A. D. [2]

Gradually, however, after 3rd century A D. Buddhism began to show sign of decay During the Gupta period, Buddhism appears to have lost its stronghold at least in some parts of Bihar, because Hiwen-Tsang who visited India in the 7th century A D. has referred to in his accounts some of the dilapidated and deserted Buddhist monasteries of north Bihar In Vaiśālī, he writes "the Buddhist establishments, of which there were some hundreds, with the exception of three or four, were dilapidated and deserted and the brethren were very few" [3] Further, the Guptas in general were the followers of Bhāgavata religion and they are referred to as 'Paramabhāgavata' [4] in inscriptions and also on coins Moreover, we have very few inscriptions [5] and Sculptures of this period which are Buddhist in character Most of the Sculptures belong to the Hindu faith. There was really during this period a Brāhmaṇical revival. No doubt the establishment of the Nālandā University as a great

1. *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, Book II, p. 46, by B.M Barua.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. II, p. 131.
3. Watters' II, p. 63.
4. Vide : *Select Inscriptions of Northern India*, Vol. I by D. C. Sirkar p. 265, line 6 & p. 263, line 4.
5. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. IV, p. 405.

Buddhist monastery by Śakrāditya gave an opportunity to the upholders of Buddhist faith to revive their lost religion but by this time, the shape of Buddhism had been completely changed and they were rather mixed up with the neo-religion, i. e. Tāntrism which was concerned only with Śakti worship It was a form of Hinduism and Buddhists had to accept this form in order to keep up their existence It was because of this reason that during this period in Buddhism, we begin to get the images of Tārā, Vasudhārā, Prajñāpāramitā, etc., all female deities This shows that the Buddhists had begun to worship Śakti and the worship of Śakti gave to Buddhism an another name Tāntrism and it got mixed up with the Hindu form of worship during this period

(2) *Jainism*

We have not enough of materials to have a fair and comprehensive idea of the ups and downs of Jainism in Bihar during the periods under review; but still whatever little material we have at our disposal is sufficient to give us some information about this religion

It is said that during the time of Chandragupta Maurya and about two centuries after Mahavīra's death, Magadha had to face a great famine of about twelve years, due to which there was a huge exodus of Jains under Bhadrabāhu from Magadha to south India. King Chandragupta himself is said to have gone to Śravaṇa-Belagolā in Mysore along with the saint Bhadrabāhu and there he starved himself to death in the Jaina fashion. [1] This incident must have heavily told upon the Jaina organisation in Bihar or at least it must have received a temporary set back in Magadha. However, inspite of such being the fact

1. *Age of the Nandas and the Mauryas*, p. 165. by K. A. Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī.

Jainism was not completely rooted out from Magadha. All the monks did not migrate to the south. Some still adhered to this religion under the leadership of Sthūlabhadra who was a strong upholder of the Jaina faith Sthūlabhadra summoned a council of monks of the Jaina faith in the 3rd Century B. C. at Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna. This council had been convened with a view to fix the Canon of the sacred literatures of the Jainas which consisted of the eleven Aṅgas and the fourteen Parvas. The action of the council was, therefore, to determine the authoritativeness of the various treatises of this religion. [1]

It is said that when the famine was over, Bhadrabāhu along with some mendicants from the south returned to the North. By this time there had occurred some difference among the Jainas as to the principle of wearing cloth. As a matter of fact, the final schism did not take place at this time until two more centuries had passed away but the unity of the order was lost for ever. [2] The final schism which took place in about Ist Century A D (79 or 82 A D) resulted in the division of the Jaina order into two sects commonly known as the 'Śvetambara' and the 'Digambara' (i. e. nude). [3]

In the Patna museum we have got a stone nude male torso [4] of a certain Jaina Tīrthaṅkara belonging to the Digambara sect It was discovered from a Mohalla Lohānipur in Patna and it has got a very high class of Mauryan polish This torso testifies to the existence of Jainism in Bihar at least during the Mauryan period.

1 *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, pp, 10-11 by B. M. Barua.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.* p. 12.

4. Patna Museum's Arch. Register No. 8038.

In the later periods also Jainism continued to flourish and Pāṭaliputra was still a centre of this religion.

There is another stone nude male torso[1] of a certain Jaina Tīrthaṅkara discovered from the same place Lohānipur (Patna) from where the former stone nude male torso was found out. But on this image the high class of Mauryan polish is missing and on the basis of the style of art it appears to belong to the 2nd–1st Century B C. We may, therefore, be justified to hold the view that Jainism was in existence in Bihar during the Śuṅga period as well. Further, it is said that the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* of Umāsvāti, which is a sacred literature for both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects of Jainism, was composed at Pāṭaliputra towards the beginning of the Christian era.[2] Moreover, some of the Śaka rulers of this place were also attracted by this religon and so they confessed Jainism The *Bṛihatkalpa Vritti*, as quoted in *Abhidhāna Rājendra* II. p. 726 and IV p 1739 refers to a Scythian king (Muruṇḍa) of Pāṭaliputra who was an ardent Jaina and his widowed sister had also, it is said, embraced the same religion Further Prabhudāmā, the sister of the Śaka king Rudrasena I, was married at Vaiśālī, another seat of Jainism. Whether her husband was the king of Vaiśālī at that time, we however do not know. But since, we have discovered one seal[3] of Prabhudāmā at Vaiśālī, where she has been described as Mahādevī, her husband might also be a king and might be an upholder of Jaina religion

There is a small place in the district of Patna which is now famous by the name of Pāvāpurī. This

1. This image is also exhibited in the Patna Museum and bears the Arch. Register No. 8039.
2. Cf. *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, of Umāsvāti.
3. *A. S. I*, *A. R.*, 1913–14, p. 136

place is held very sacred by the Jainas It is said that Mahāvīra had spent his last rainy season at this place which was then known as Pāpā and he also died here. [1] And it was in his memory that a Jaina temple with the footprints of Mahāvīra has been built here and so it has become a sacred place for the Jainas. The upshot of the above discussion is that the modern place Pāvāpurī appears to be a seat of the Jainas since the time of Mahāvīra and is continuing in the present times also.

The modern festival Dīpāvali observed by the Jainas [2] has got its own history to tell Mrs. Stevenson supplies us the following information which is based on the statement of the *Kalpa Sūtra.* [3] She writes, "The kings who were present on the night that Mahāvīra died instituted an illumination to commemorate him, for they said, since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter and this the Jaina claim to be the origin of the yearly festival of lamps, Dīpāvali which the Hindus and they alike observe [4]

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1. *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 43, by Mrs. S. Stevenson.
2 This festival is also observed by other Hindu sects.
3. *S. B. E.*, XXII, p. 266.
4. *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 44, by Mrs. S. Stevenson

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	A. S. I., A. R.	: Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
2	A. S. R.	: Archaeological Survey Reports (Cunningham).
3	B. M. C. A. I.	: British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, by J. Allan., London, 1936.
4	Bāṇa	: Bāṇabhaṭṭa.
5	C. A. I.	: Cunningham's Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India.
6	C. C. A. I.	· Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India (Cunningham).
7	C H. I.	: Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1. Ed. by E. J Rapson.
8	Chap.	: Chapter.
9	C. I. I.	: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II (Sten Konow)
10	E. H. I.	: Early History of India : by V. A. Smith.
11	H. O. S.	: Harvard Oriental Series. (America)
12	I. A.	: Indian Antiquary. (Bombay)
13	I C.	: Indian Culture (Calcutta)
14	I. H. Q.	: Indian Historical Quarterly. (Calcutta)
15	I M. C.	: Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, (Calcutta), Vol. I, by V. A. Smith.
16	J. A. S B.	: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
17	J. B. R. S.	: Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna
18	J. B. O. R. S.	. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (Patna).
19	J. I. S. O. A.	: Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts (Calcutta).
20	J. R. A. S.	: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
21	J. N. S. I.	: Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (Bombay and Banaras).

22 Manu	· Manusmriti or Mānavadharmaśāstram.
23 M. A. S. I.	: Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
24 P. H. A. I.	. Political History of Ancient India (5th and 6th edition) by H. C. Raychaudhuri.
25 P. M. C.	: Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins by R. B. Whitehead.
26 Pat on Pān	: Mahābhāshya of Patañjali on Pānini : 3 Volumes Ed. by F. Kielhorn.
27 S. B. E.	: Sacred Books of the East Series.
28 Watters	: On Youn Chwang (Watters).

INDEX

C

PLATES

PLATE I

Terracotta figurines from Kumrahār (Patna) Excavation (year 1951–52)

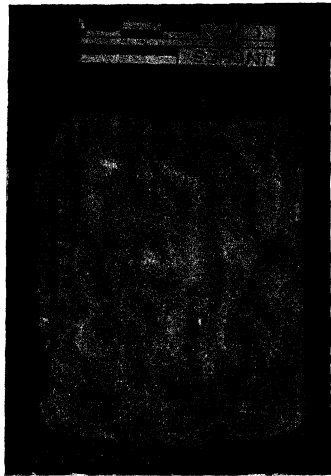
PLATE II

Terracotta Plaque from Kumrahār (Patna) Exc

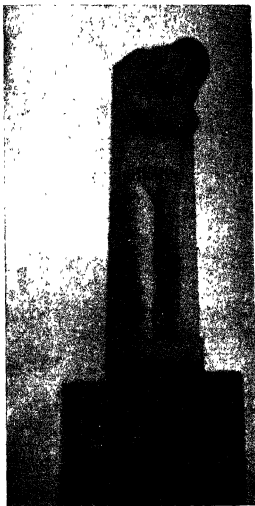
PLATE III

Stone Yakshī figure, Śuṅga Period. (Bodh-Gaya)

PLATE V (a)

Bust of a girl on stone railing at Bodh-Gaya.
(Śuṅga Period)

PLATE V (b)

Bust of a girl on stone railing at Bodh-Gaya
(Śuṅga Period.)

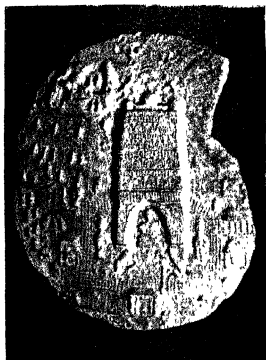
PLATE VI

Terracotta Bodh-Gaya Plaque from Kumrahār.
(2nd Century A. D.). Patna Museum.

PLATE VII

Terracotta Plaque with Sūrya; Śunga Period.
(Patna Museum)

PLATE VIII

Mithuna Couple, Panta (Kushāṇa)
(Patna Museum)